

12-1-1997

African American in Televised Advertisements: A Content Analysis

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AFRICAN AMERICANS IN TELEVISED ADVERTISEMENTS:
A CONTENT ANALYSIS

A thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of Sociology
Western Kentucky University
Bowling Green, Kentucky

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Amy E. Anderson
December 1997

AFRICAN AMERICANS IN TELEVISED ADVERTISEMENTS:
A CONTENT ANALYSIS

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my sincere thanks to the following people who have helped me see my project to fruition: Bennie Shobe, Jr., who videotaped all of my preliminary advertisements; my father, Alan Anderson, who videotaped the advertisements used in my final analysis; the former members of my committee, Karen Cunningham and Lynn Newhart; those who helped in coding ads for my pilot studies--Joan and Bob Krenzin, Stephen Groce, Carmen Williams, David Duke, Angela Turner, Cheryl Warner, and Larry Barnes; John Bruni for his assistance with the data analyses; and particular thanks to Joan Krenzin and Stephen Groce for not giving up on me. In addition, I would like to thank my family and friends for their constant support and encouragement. Finally, I want to express special thanks to my son, Matthew, for understanding why so much of my free time had to be spent at the library and computer lab.

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AFRICAN AMERICANS IN TELEVISED ADVERTISEMENTS:
A CONTENT ANALYSIS

Amy E. Anderson December 1997 120 Pages

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The purpose of this study was to analyze African American portrayals in televised advertisements over a six-day period in November 1995. A total of 799 advertisements were analyzed, including 205 that depicted at least one African American actor. Content analysis was used to describe the following, with respect to African American actors: age, gender, day and time of portrayal, occupational role, and products and services advertised. Comparisons were also made between frequencies of actors of different races and amount of time these actors appeared. When compared with previous studies of African American television portrayals, many improvements were observed as well as some setbacks, with respect to images of African American actors.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Americans are inundated with a multitude of messages and stimuli on a daily basis. We process and respond to the information we receive in a number of ways. Input is directed at us from a variety of media. The way in which we perceive these messages reveals a great deal about our values and perceptions of society. Television, in particular, has a profound impact on Americans.

Since 1970 the number of U.S. households owning television sets has increased by fifty-five percent. Today television sets are found in 98 percent of American homes ("1992-1993 Report" 1993). People who watch TV at least once daily comprise 88 percent of all households (Bovee and Arens 1989). By 1993 three or more television sets were found in 33 percent of the households ("1992-1993 Report" 1993).

Statement of Problem and Importance of Study

Advertising should be examined in depth not only because it is a means of transmitting messages but, more important, because people also often process these messages

unconsciously. When we consider the fact that advertising is a multi-million dollar industry, we can begin to see the importance of scrutinizing this medium. The largest amount of national advertising appears on television. In 1986 more than fifteen billion dollars were spent here (Bovee and Arens 1989). By 1992 that amount had jumped to thirty billion dollars ("1992-1993 Report" 1993).

Televised advertisements offer a revealing look at various groups of society. In addition to receiving messages about the product or service in question, we also subconsciously process other aspects of an ad. An actor's gender, race, and approximate age are easily recognized; with further scrutiny we can determine occupation, speaking role, and amount of time an actor appears in a given ad.

In the current study I examined both portrayals of African American actors in televised advertisements as well as ads depicting actors of this race. One of the things I wanted to examine was whether the occupational statuses and products and services with which they were associated had changed with respect to previous studies of African Americans in advertisements. I also wanted to learn if there were significant differences in the days and times these actors appeared, as well as whether African American appearances varied by day and time of appearance. In addition, I wondered whether the percent of time African American actors appeared in advertisements corresponded

with the percent of the U.S. population African Americans constitute.

Many studies have been conducted to analyze African American portrayals on television; however, they have dealt mainly with programs. There is less research available on African Americans with respect to advertising. It is important to study this genre of the media because Americans rely heavily on the medium of television for entertainment, information, and relaxation and are thereby exposed to a great deal of advertising messages (Bogart 1996).

The current study involved viewing and analyzing televised advertisements for a six-day period during various time segments, focussing on the manner in which African American actors were presented to the television-viewing audience. Weekday daytime and primetime, as well as Saturday morning, were chosen to obtain a cross section of audiences. Saturday morning was selected for its children's audience.

Conflict theory was employed to address the differences in portrayals of African Americans and actors of other races. Gunnar Myrdal's ([1944] 1968) concept of the American Dilemma addresses the diminished status of African Americans in American society. Assimilation theory addresses the degree to which African Americans participate in our society. Social construction of reality was also

incorporated in the theoretical framework to address the issue of the formulation of the African American image portrayed in advertisements. Content analysis was the method of study used to classify and categorize African American portrayals in advertisements.

Organization of Chapters

Chapter II addresses the theoretical concepts relevant to this study. An overview of the history and major points of conflict theory, the American Dilemma, assimilation theory, and the social construction of reality are provided. Conflict theory, which emphasizes struggles among various societal groups, provides a partial explanation for hypothesized disparity among African American actors and actors of other races. The American Dilemma takes conflict theory a step further, addressing discrimination against African Americans. Assimilation theory focusses on group ethnocentrism and intergroup conflict. In this study I examine hypothesized differences in actor portrayals by race, which may be due, in part, to a lack of African American assimilation. Finally, the social construction of reality is used to address societal socialization and subsequent identification with the elements of socialization, including actor portrayals in televised advertisements.

A review of relevant literature is presented in Chapter III. Included are descriptions of previous television and print advertisement research. Chapter IV outlines the methods used in the study, including the calculation of intercoder reliability and quantitative content analysis. Hypotheses and the sampling method are also defined. Results of the study are presented in Chapter V. Chapter VI presents conclusions based on the quantitative results and includes suggestions for additional research.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In conducting the current study I have employed conflict theory, the American Dilemma, assimilation theory, and social construction of reality to discuss and explain televised portrayals of African Americans in advertisements. In analyzing the advertisements I focused on a six-day period covering morning, afternoon, and evening segments. An effort was made to determine whether particular products and services were associated with this segment of the population. The amount of time devoted to these actors was also examined. Other demographics, such as age and gender, were also addressed. This chapter includes an examination of the history and application of the theories cited as employed in the current study.

Conflict Theory

Conflict theory, with its focus on conflict and disequilibrium among select groups of society, was instrumental in providing a guide for analyzing African American portrayals in televised advertisements. Karl Marx

and Max Weber contributed most significantly to this perspective. Proponents of this perspective viewed groups as vying for, and subsequently experiencing shifts in, power. They also focused on conflicts generated over control of valuable resources (Turner and Beeghley 1981). Power can be exhibited in a variety of fashions; and power messages, however subtle, are transmitted via the medium of television.

Central Concepts of Conflict Theory

The following three assumptions of conflict theory help explain the nature of conflict: 1) people have individual interests; 2) at the heart of social relations is power; and 3) different groups use values and ideas as tools to achieve their goals (Wallace and Wolf 1986). For this study the first assumption is that people want to be treated equally and want to improve their lot in life. The second assumption states that, in order to realize these interests, people must have the power to effectively influence their own lives. In this case African Americans must have the power to influence advertisers to depict actors of their race in roles comparable to those of other advertisement actors. The third assumption maintains that groups, such as advertisers, use their ideas to influence viewers.

Marx's Principles

Marx and Weber set the foundation for modern conflict theory. Marx endorsed the following tenets: 1) societal interests are based on economic interests; 2) society exists in terms of conflict among various social groups with differing interests; and 3) the interests of the "ruling class" are evident in prevalent ideologies of a given age. In other words, economic interests shape societal interests, which in turn formulate prevailing ideologies (Marx and Engels [1888] 1959).

In the current study Marx's principles can be thought of in the following terms. The first tenet deals with the bourgeois, or owners of capital, and proletarians, or wage labor. The former group wishes to increase its capital while the latter desires to improve the position and condition of its class. African Americans, as a group, possess less capital than the other racial and ethnic groups in this country. It is largely Caucasians who are considered owners of capital and who may be described in Marx's terms as bourgeoisie. African Americans may be thought of as proletarians in that they have been striving for many years to improve, among other things, their economic position in the larger society. Marx's belief that economic interests underlie societal interests is evident in U.S. society, for Americans engage in economic exchange on a daily basis. Americans, for the most part,

continually strive to improve their economic status. In televised advertisements economic status is hinted at through actors' occupational status.

Marx's next tenet focuses on group conflict. Conflict between groups exists due to different agendas of the various groups. Marx wrote, "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles," (Marx and Engels [1888] 1959, p.7). He implied that one group cannot fully realize its goal without simultaneously preventing another group from attaining its goal. In other words, Caucasians, in striving to improve their standing, prevent African Americans from doing so. Conflict arises when African Americans are prevented by others from attaining their goals. What complicates matters is the history of prejudicial treatment against African Americans, which will be treated in greater depth in the review of the literature in the next chapter.

Regarding ruling class ideologies, Marx wrote, "The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class," (Marx and Engels [1888] 1959, p. 26). This third Marxian tenet now becomes an issue as the mainstream U.S. society, or "ruling class," forces its values on the entire population. The imparting of values is easily done through the medium of television because television is such an integral part of the lives of nearly all Americans. It is the elite groups that decide who is portrayed in which

manner on television and, therefore, shape the perceptions American television viewers receive about a wide range of phenomena, including depictions of African Americans.

Weber's Principles

Distinct from Marx's position, Weber's "ideal types"--precise conceptions of reality--illuminate his conviction that there existed various avenues for securing authority; he focused on authority in explaining the advantage some groups have over others. Traditional authority, according to Weber, passed from one generation to the next; charismatic authority relied on the influence of a given leader's personal traits; and rational-legal authority was created by formal rules (Weber 1947).

With regard to this study traditional authority plays an enormous part in explaining the advantage Caucasians have over African Americans in the U.S. The history of the United States is replete with examples of overt racism and discrimination toward this segment of society (Bullock and Rodgers 1975; Hill and Jones 1993). It is mainly Caucasians who enjoy advantageous status in this country. In contrast African Americans have largely been denied this opportunity. Rational-legal authority, created by formal rules, has also served to prevent African Americans from gaining equal status in this country. From the early segregationist laws to Jim Crow laws African Americans were denied what Caucasians have always taken for granted.

Weber also equated conflict with social relations and maintained that people act in accordance with their own interests, at the expense of others. The others, in turn, resist them. An example of Weber's (1947) charismatic authority in maintaining Caucasian advantage is that of David Duke, who attempted to use his political clout to advance his white supremacist ideology.

The aforementioned concepts of authority also manifest themselves in the various media, including television. In the early days of advertising, as is explained in greater depth in the following chapter, rational-legal authority was used to keep African Americans out of the advertising industry. It was also used to depict them in ridiculous fashion, and thereby maintain Caucasian advantage over non-Caucasians. It was not long before the traditional authority method of depicting African Americans in demeaning fashion became the rule, and it continued for many years to further maintain Caucasian advantage.

Marx's focus on economic factors can be used to explain the disparity among African Americans and the larger U.S. population. The fact that African Americans have not, as a group, been as successful as the larger society is directly related to "ruling class" interests. Weber took ruling class interests a step further in discussing additional concerns, such as social class, in determining the success of a given group. Conflict theory

leads to another relevant perspective, that of the American Creed, within the larger concept of the American Dilemma, outlined by Gunnar Myrdal [1944](1968).

The American Dilemma

Myrdal maintained that, "From the point of view of the American Creed the status accorded the Negro in America represents...a century-long lag of public morals" (p. 24).

Myrdal's concept of the American Creed consists of

the ideals of the essential dignity of the individual human being; of the fundamental quality of all people; and of certain inalienable rights to freedom, justice, and a fair opportunity. (Myrdal [1968] 1994, p. 4)

According to Myrdal, the problem that African Americans encounter, i.e., discrimination, results from the lack of a fully developed American Creed throughout this nation.

Myrdal describes the larger issue of the "American Dilemma" in the following terms:

The "American Dilemma" is the ever-raging conflict between, on the one hand, the valuations preserved on the general plane which we shall call the "American Creed," where the American thinks, talks, and acts under the influence of high national and Christian precepts, and, on the other hand, the valuations on specific planes of individual and group living, where personal and local interests; economic, social, and sexual jealousies; considerations of community prestige and conformity; group prejudice against particular persons or types of people;

and all sorts of miscellaneous wants, impulses, and habits dominate his outlook. (p. lxxi)

Levels of Discrimination

Myrdal developed the following ranking of levels of discrimination by interactions disliked by Caucasians: 1) intermarriage (racial) and sexual intercourse (of African American men) with Caucasian women; 2) personal relations behavior: social intercourse--eating, dancing, bathing together; denial of "social equality"--house entrance to be used, social rules regarding interactions at work and on the street, etc.; 3) discrimination and segregation in public facilities (e.g., churches, schools); 4) political disfranchisement; 5) discrimination by public servants (e.g., police and court systems); and 6) discrimination of employment, credit, land ownership and discrimination of social welfare systems. It is interesting to note that Myrdal found that African American interests were the inverse of those outlined by Caucasians (the preceding rank order).

Societal Influence

Myrdal felt strongly that to improve the condition for African Americans, small improvements must be made, one step at a time, and that prejudices would yield to societal norms. He maintained an optimistic attitude that the promises of the American Creed would be attained for every member of our society, including African Americans. One

step toward improving the condition for African Americans is to secure equality in the various media, particularly the medium of television. Myrdal wrote, "...social segregation and discrimination is a system of deprivations forced upon the Negro group by the white group" (Myrdal [1944] 1968, p. 575). He maintained that the moral dilemma for the Southern Caucasian man is having to apply the notion of equality to his laws and to defend them before both the Supreme Court and his own conscience, which is defined by the American Creed. In addition, Myrdal believed the Southern Caucasian is simultaneously aware of a twofold reality: 1) that these laws deny equality to African Americans and 2) that he, the Caucasian, is pleased with the resulting reality. This researcher examines whether significant differences exist with respect to portrayals of African Americans and actors of other races. Another relevant theoretical framework to examine is assimilation theory, with its focus on the degree to which African Americans participate in American society.

Assimilation Theory

Milton Gordon (1975) postulated that in studying ethnic issues assimilation theory should be addressed. In so doing he emphasized that the following variables must be examined: 1) type of assimilation (cultural versus

structural); 2) degree of total assimilation; 3) degree of conflict (between minority and majority groups); and 4) degree of access for minority groups to societal rewards. These dependent variables are a function of the following independent variables: "bio-social development variables," simply, adult interaction--and "societal variables"--"collective structures and phenomena pertaining to the demographic, ecological institutional, valuational, cultural, and stratificational features of a society..." (Gordon 1975, p. 91). Gordon's perspective on assimilation theory maintains that individuals are narcissistic and ethnocentric by nature and that they aggressively defend themselves. He added that individuals compare themselves with others and escalate conflict.

History of African American Assimilation

Assimilation for African Americans began on a negative note in Colonial days. At that time this segment of society was geographically fragmented, wielded no power, and was denied education and cultural traditions. Gordon stressed the following:

Racist ideology pervading the majority group, plus low degree of "inside" minority ethnic power, plus low degree of "outside" minority ethnic power, plus felt opportunity to enhance the self through economic means by massive discrimination leads to low degree of access to societal rewards by the minority group ranging from second class citizenship to slavery plus minimal conflict (at least, in the short run). (1975, p. 68)

Thus, the assimilation process for African Americans was hindered from the outset of their American beginnings. Gordon hypothesized that an ideal society does not grant equal power to all groups because such equality would generate conflict and lead to an unstable society. Rather, optimum conditions would ensure that minority groups have moderate levels of power. He maintained that with an unequal distribution of power minority group rights would not be compromised, nor would society be disrupted. Thus, greater conflict occurs when differing ethnic groups approach equivalent status. In the current study I sought to address one aspect of power relations, which is evident in television portrayals of African Americans in advertisements. Others had more to offer on the topic of racial conflict.

De Vos' Principles

George De Vos (1975) postulated that ethnic boundaries rather than being territorial are psychological. Societies that promote common origin of groups experience less conflict than do those societies that emphasize differences or separate origins. He maintained that in a pluralistic society, such as that of the United States, conflict is viewed as normal. Conflict increases when it is unclear which group is dominant. Because the history of the United States clearly demonstrates differing origins for African Americans than for Caucasians, and a history of prejudice

and discrimination, it would be expected that our society would experience a high degree of conflict. It is also important to examine the manner in which African Americans see themselves on television.

In relating these theoretical guidelines to the present study it would be expected that, due to a hypothesized high level of conflict and lack of significant assimilation of African Americans in the larger U.S. society, these forces influence all manner of social settings, including the medium of television and televised advertising. Ruling-class interests, the asserting of authority, and attempts to satisfy individual goals lead to conflict that is manifested in a variety of ways. This level of conflict provides a framework from which to scrutinize the degree to which African Americans, compared with other members of society, are assimilated and portrayed in televised ads. In addition, these perspectives were helpful in analyzing the perceived degree of access African Americans have to societal rewards, as demonstrated in advertisements. Another facet to consider is the manner in which consumers perceive televised portrayals. The social construction of reality addresses this issue and discusses the medium of television as a mechanism of socialization.

The Social Construction of Reality

The social construction of reality was another useful theoretical framework for the current study. This perspective allowed for examination of the impact the aforementioned societal forces had upon the target population--African Americans. Berger and Luckmann, in 1966, described this framework in terms of addressing the objective and subjective reality of the members of a given society.

Central Concepts

Each individual member of society possesses a subjective reality, which is the internalization of socialization by primary, significant others in early childhood, i.e., the nuclear family. Objective reality is formulated as an individual becomes conscious of the perception that others hold of him or her. Individuals begin by processing events as meaningful. They then gain insight into fellow society members and "participate in each other's being" (Berger and Luckmann 1966, p. 120).

Reality as a Function of Socialization

Socialization via electronic media can be viewed as either primary or secondary socialization. If an individual, as a child, was exposed to a significant amount of television viewing, and the child subsequently internalized to some degree the attitudes and roles

depicted in this medium, the television could be included among those agents responsible for primary socialization. If an individual was not heavily exposed to this medium at a young age, the medium of television would be considered secondary socialization. Primary socialization is achieved when the notion of the generalized other has been consciously established. According to Berger and Luckmann the most significant tool of socialization is language.

"Secondary socialization is the internalization of institutional or institution-based 'subworlds'" (Berger and Luckmann 1966, p. 127). The degree to which secondary socialization occurs is dependent upon the social distribution of knowledge, or "special knowledge," resulting from a division of labor. Secondary socialization is characterized by anonymity and detachment. A child is forever shaped by his or her primary socialization but can more easily separate himself or herself from secondary socialization. Television viewing can be considered a form of secondary socialization insofar as most Americans spend a great deal of time exposing themselves to this medium.

Another factor that influences secondary socialization is the relation of the individual to the socializing source and the level of "significance" it is assigned. The stronger the role of television socialization, the more likely we are to identify ourselves with the television

images depicted. The degree of success of secondary socialization is a function of the level of similarity to the "base-world," where primary socialization takes place. In contrast, television viewing may be considered a primary source of socialization in situations in which children are exposed to a high level of television viewing. Through television, children observe human behavior and appearance and come to internalize what they see. The greater the television exposure, the more their perceptions are shaped by what they view on the screen. Finally, the authors stressed that perfect socialization is impossible while perfect unsocialization (cases of social outcasts and those with severe mental impairments) is very rare. The simpler the society, the clearer the subjective and objective reality, thereby aiding the process of self-definition (Berger and Luckmann 1966).

The four theoretical frameworks cited above are all important contributions to the current study in that they provide a guideline within which can be explained the conflict that exists in this society and which manifests itself on television. From the earliest days of U.S. history African Americans have been assigned lower-class citizenship and have, therefore, been denied the authority and power that the ruling class, largely Caucasian, have enjoyed. Concurrently, African Americans have been less assimilated into the larger, mainstream, American society.

This lack of assimilation helps to explain the historical absence of African Americans from televised advertisements and the slow pace with which change in this medium is being realized. Finally, it is important to discuss African American depictions in televised advertisements because people have a tendency to employ television as a means of socialization. Because television is such an important socializing agent, it could have great implications for African Americans as they search for identity in the images they view. Non-African Americans are also affected by media images of other members of society, for television socialization shapes their views as well.

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter relevant literature is presented, with three main areas of concentration. First is a discussion of African American consumers. Next is a brief history of the image of African Americans in the advertising arena. Third is an overview of previous television content analyses of African American portrayals. Due to the lack of extensive research analyzing television portrayals of African Americans, magazine studies of African Americans are also presented.

African American Consumers

Because this study deals with African American portrayals it is helpful to consider this segment of the population in terms of their role as consumers and how advertisers have targeted them. African Americans were largely absent from the advertising milieu until the 1980s. At the end of that decade they numbered 30 million--12 percent of the U.S. population--and had a combined yearly income of 203 billion dollars (Dates and Barlow 1990). In

1988 alone they spent 200 billion dollars on goods and services. During that year, advertisers spent 700 million dollars on ads aimed at African American consumers (Porter 1990). The following year African American median income was \$19,758, which was only a fraction of the \$30,056 for the national median income ("More Data from" 1992). By 1990 the U.S. African American population remained unchanged, at 12.1 percent (29,986,060) of the total (248,709,873) ("Portrait of a" 1992).

Historical Images of African Americans in Advertising

One of the first African American characters created, which was later used in the advertising industry, was Sambo. He made his first appearance in the late 1700s on the stage; thus, the image of the "comic Negro" was born (Dates and Barlow 1990). As Jamison (1990) points out, Sambo was depicted with huge lips, a broad smile, bulging eyes, and a shiny face. In short, Sambo served to make African American men appear ridiculous and devoid of masculinity (Dates and Barlow 1990). Advertisers used the Sambo image from the late 1800s until the mid-twentieth century to sell such things as food, medicine, and household goods (Jamison 1990).

The next significant African American stereotype to appear was that of "Jim Crow" in the 1830s. He was an

elderly deformed man dressed in rags and portrayed in a demeaning fashion. The Uncle Tom stereotype was also quite prevalent at that time. His role was that of a gentle and innocent man, not content with his slave status yet quietly tolerating his unhappy existence (Dates and Barlow 1990).

Strong prejudices abounded and manifested themselves to varying degrees in the early days of advertising. Following the Civil War the prevailing African American stereotypes were the "mammy" (Aunt Jemima) for women and the faithful servant for young-to-middle-aged men (Rastus, the Cream of Wheat man). Elderly men were often viewed as Uncle Toms. The term "coon" was heavily used in the late 1800s to signify "a dandified urban African American male" (Dates and Barlow 1990, p. 14). In 1919 the Johnson Smith & Company catalog featured the "Alabama Coon Jigger"--a doll that could be made to dance at varying speeds, and which was "in the firm control of the owner" (Dates and Barlow 1990). Ferguson and Gitter (1971) describe the reasoning used by advertisers to legitimize their use of stereotyping:

Both public expectation and the desire for public acceptance affect the programming process, thus stereotyped images are supported as a part of "normal" social settings. (p. 13)

In contrast, Dates and Barlow point out that:

African American media stereotypes are not the natural, much less harmless, products of an idealized popular culture; rather, they are more commonly

socially constructed images that are selective, partial, one-dimensional, and distorted in their portrayal of African Americans. (1990, p. 5)

African American stereotypes prevailed into the 1960s. In 1962 Klapp found that they were being portrayed as "fools" while "hero" roles were reserved for Caucasians. Due to the lack of integrated advertisements the NAACP attempted, in 1962, to desegregate televised commercials. They stressed to advertisers that their practice of excluding African Americans from advertisements created a false image of society, and they urged them to integrate ads (Dates and Barlow 1990). Their efforts were not immediately effective. In 1965 integrated advertisements constituted a mere 2 percent of all televised commercials (Wanderer 1970). Moreover, by 1968 only 5 percent of televised advertisements depicted African Americans (Dates and Barlow 1990). That year, the Human Rights Commission recommended the following:

Television should develop programming which integrates Negroes into all aspects of televised presentations.... Negro reporters and performers should appear more frequently--and at prime time--in news broadcasts, in weather shows, in documentaries, and in advertisements. (Wanderer 1970, p. 33)

Due to the lack of change in the racial makeup of advertisements the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund asked the FCC, in 1970, to help put an end to discriminatory advertising. The NAACP was particularly

concerned with televised advertisements because it appeared that viewers equated televised images with real life. The group suggested to the FCC that it do the following:

1) review advertisements for content pertaining to race; 2) create guidelines to enforce Federal laws dealing with race discrimination; and 3) monitor advertisements and programs with respect to racial makeup (Dates and Barlow 1990).

Advertisers began using African Americans in advertisements with more frequency only after discovering the growing popularity of this segment of the population in network programming (Dates and Barlow 1990). It was thought that by bringing more African Americans into the industry higher profits would be realized. This idea seemed reasonable because during the late 1960s and early 1970s African Americans comprised 11 percent (23 million) of the U.S. population and spent roughly 30 billion dollars annually on goods and services (Dates and Barlow 1990; Stafford, Birdwell, and Van Tassel 1970). In spite of these data, advertisers refused to use racial minorities until it was demonstrated that their profit margin would increase significantly by doing so (Dates and Barlow 1990).

Television Research

Leo Bogart (1984) held that television has three significant advantages over other forms of media:

1) of all the media, it comes closest to the intensity of interpersonal confrontation; 2) it generates huge audiences at the same moment in time; and 3) it permits the advertiser to encounter the consumer in a relaxed frame of mind...(p. 134)

The television studies discussed here reflect the reluctance of advertisers to depict African American actors favorably or extensively. It was not until 1970 that the color of television advertising began to change. Wanderer (1970) conducted a study which found that integrated advertisements comprised 8 percent of the 1600 ads studied. However, African American-only ads accounted for only 1/2 of 1 percent of the total during that year. African Americans appeared in 10 percent of the daytime ads while only appearing in 8 percent of ads that aired during evening prime time. Furthermore, African American males appeared with greater frequency (58 percent) than did females of this race (42 percent). The majority of African American actors-- 57 percent--did not have speaking or singing roles. However, it was noted that the 43 percent who spoke in Wanderer's study was a noticeable increase from that found in a 1965 study.

In the African American-only ads adults appeared most often, followed by children; adolescents were absent altogether. For occupational roles the vast majority of African Americans were assigned to the entertainment and sports category. The others were categorized in the

following order: housewife; clerical; professional, business, and student; service, police officer, and fire fighter; waiter, porter, and butler; and last, laborer. When the product was specified, African Americans appeared most frequently in advertisements for personal care products, followed by transportation, food, drugs, household, and tobacco. They were absent from ads for clothing, alcohol, entertainment, books, television, radio, and financial (Wanderer 1970).

Dates and Barlow (1990) noted that, for the most part, African Americans were used to sell products widely held to be unhealthy, such as soft drinks, cigarettes, alcohol, and fast food. This trend continued until the mid-1980s. Lawrence Plotkin's 1970 study was a case in point.

Plotkin (1970) examined televised advertisements which appeared during sports broadcasts during 1969 in several large U.S. cities. His findings revealed that African Americans were most often cast as "extras," rarely appeared in starring roles, and were most often associated with unhealthy products. Only 12 percent of New York City advertisements depicted African Americans in starring roles. The percentages of African Americans in starring roles in Memphis, Charlotte, and Birmingham were 14, 10, and 9, respectively. Both New York City and Memphis depicted these actors in soft drink ads more frequently than in any other type of ad; 80 percent of the soft drink

advertisements in New York and 25 percent of those in Memphis depicted African American actors. In these cities the next highest concentration of these actors was in tobacco and toiletry advertisements; 14 percent of these ads in New York City featured African Americans while 15 percent were recorded in Memphis. Beer was also an important commodity associated with this segment of the population. African Americans appeared in 12 percent of New York City beer ads and in 15 percent of these ads in Memphis (Plotkin 1970).

Among the products least associated with African Americans in the Plotkin study were clothing, cameras and games, and radios and television sets. These actors were absent from clothing ads altogether in both Memphis and New York City. Nine percent of camera and game ads in New York City depicted African Americans, and they were nonexistent in Memphis ads for these products. In short, Plotkin's study revealed that African Americans were targeted for unhealthy and inexpensive products while pricier items were targeted at Caucasian consumers.

Other African American media studies focused on the time of day these actors appeared in commercials. Dominick and Greenberg (1970) undertook a study which analyzed African American portrayals in televised advertisements with a focus on frequency of appearance as a function of time of appearance. Their findings showed that in 1967

African Americans appeared in 5 percent of daytime and 4 percent of prime-time advertisements. The following year the percentages were 8 and 6 percent, respectively. By 1969 12 percent of daytime and 10 percent of prime-time commercials depicted African American actors. Thus, there was a noticeable increase in the frequency of African American portrayals over the years, and they consistently appeared more often during the day and less frequently in the evening for the years cited.

A similar study was conducted by Bush, Solomon, and Hair in 1977. Their content analysis dealt with African American appearance in televised advertisements in the western and southern United States. These researchers found African Americans in 17 percent of daytime ads and in 13 percent of prime-time ads in 1973. By 1974 the frequency of African American appearance for both daytime and prime-time slots had equalized at 13 percent in the South. One aspect of this study dealt with the extent to which the three top networks--CBS, NBC, and ABC--used African Americans in advertising.

Bush, Solomon, and Hair combined the results of their 1977 study with those of Dominick and Greenberg's 1970 study and pointed out that there was a steady increase in the frequency of appearances of African Americans from 1967 to 1973. These actors appeared consistently more often during daytime hours than in the evenings. CBS's daytime

portrayals of integrated advertisements increased from 5 percent of the total in 1967 to 12 percent in 1973; prime-time percentages rose from 4 to 11 percent during those years. NBC's figures rose from 6 percent to 17 percent for daytime and from 5 percent to 13 percent of prime-time advertising. The most marked increase took place on ABC, with increases from 5 percent to 26 percent during the day and from 4 percent to 14 percent in the evening (Bush et al. 1977). These findings suggest a willingness on the part of networks to increase the visibility of African Americans. However, not all advertisers were willing to use African Americans in ads, as illustrated by Stuart Surlin (1977).

In 1977 Surlin found that advertisers tended to be prejudiced against African Americans and that this internal belief kept them from using these actors in advertisements. However, Dates and Barlow (1990) discovered that Caucasian consumers were not opposed to ads with African American actors. Furthermore, African Americans reacted favorably to ads portraying others of their race (Surlin 1977). Schlinger and Plummer (1972) found similar results. Nearly three hundred Caucasian and African American coders viewed an all-Caucasian and an all-African American cast advertising cigarettes; the only difference between the ads was race of the actors. African American coders identified themselves highly with the African American actors in the

ad, rated the all-African American ad more favorably than the all-Caucasian ad and reported they were more interested in purchasing the product advertised by the African American actors than the product advertised by the Caucasian actors.

Wilkes and Valencia (1989) studied African American and Hispanic actors in televised advertisements, analyzing prime-time ads for seven days, from 7:00 to 10:00 p.m. ABC, NBC, and CBS networks were taped in 1984 for a total of 63 hours of programming and commercials. Results showed that African Americans were depicted in 240 of the 904 ads, or in roughly 26 percent of all ads. Of the 240 ads with African Americans over half had only male actors; less than 20 percent depicted only female actors. African American actors also appeared more often in the background and in minor roles. Less than one-third of the ads with African Americans depicted people of this race in a major role, a figure representing only 8 percent of the 904 total ads. Eleven percent of the ads showed only African American actors, which closely approximated their numbers in the U.S. population. These actors were most often associated with food products (58%), followed by electronic or high-technology products (32%). Wine and beer followed (30%), then political ads (24%), and finally, automobiles (17%). Thus, African Americans were overwhelmingly targeted for inexpensive goods, with unhealthy products--alcoholic

beverages--nearly second.

A content analysis published by Licata and Biswas in 1993 revealed that African American representation in televised ads was higher than the proportion they constituted of the U.S. population of 1991. Five "typical" and five "black-oriented" television programs were analyzed, with all commercials appearing during those times analyzed. Results specifically demonstrated that of 236 ads analyzed 35 percent depicted at least one African American actor. Forty-five percent of African American and integrated ads depicted African Americans in major roles, which was an increase from 1967. Thirty-five percent had these actors in speaking roles; 20 percent spoke directly about the product. African Americans touched or held the product advertised in 31 percent of the ads, which was a slight decrease since 1967. The researchers additionally found that the majority of African Americans (67 percent) were depicted "at leisure"; 12 percent were cowboys, farmers, and laborers; 11 percent were entertainers; 5 percent were sports figures; 3 percent were waiters, porters, butlers, and chauffeurs; and maids, cooks, servants, and foreign laborers each constituted just over 1 percent. In sum, nearly 90 percent were portrayed in above-skilled categories, with just under 15 percent classified as below-skilled labor.

Print Research

Studies of print advertisements were also analyzed for depictions of African Americans in order to gain a better understanding of their treatment in the advertising industry on the whole. A 1969 study undertaken by Cox revealed that during 1949/50 just over 6 percent of the African Americans depicted in print advertisements were considered "above skilled labor." Roughly 75 percent were servants, butlers, maids, chauffeurs, porters, or cooks. Moreover, African Americans in ads were not portrayed as businessmen, professionals, students, or clerical workers. During 1967/68, however, the percentage for African Americans appearing in print advertisements designated as "above skilled labor" had jumped to 71 percent. In addition, the percentage of African American servants in ads for 1967/68 represented only 8 percent of all print advertisements in the study (Cox 1969).

Kassarjian (1969) discovered that between 1946 and 1965 African Americans in clerical, managerial, and professional roles rose from under 1 percent to 9 percent. He also found that African Americans as entertainers, models, and sports figures rose from 15 percent in 1946 to 38 percent in 1965. African American laborers dropped from 26 percent to 4 percent for the years cited. On the whole it appeared that African Americans were becoming portrayed

in increasingly skilled positions over the year.

A 1970 study by Cox comparing integrated print advertisements in 1949-50 and 1967-68 revealed that the percentage of integrated ads rose from .5 percent to just over 2 percent for the years cited. African Americans classified as "above skilled labor"--entertainers, sports figures, professionals, businesspersons and students, consumers, and clerical staff--comprised 4.5 percent of the ads in 1949/50. By 1967-68 that percentage had risen to 69. In contrast, African Americans classified as "below skilled labor"--maids, cooks, servants, waiters, porters, butlers, chauffeurs, cowboys, farmers, soldiers, and African or Island laborers--made up 95.5 percent of integrated ads in 1949-50. That percentage, by 1967-68, had dropped markedly, to 30.9 percent (Cox 1970).

A more recent study of African Americans in print ads spanning thirty years revealed that since the 1960s African American ads have significantly increased in number. By the mid-1970s the percentage of these ads nearly equalled the percentage of the U.S. population comprised of African Americans. In 1976 this segment of the population comprised 11.5 percent of the general U.S. population. At that time roughly 10.5 percent of trade journal ads depicted them (Stevenson 1991). It is important to note, however, that African Americans constituted less than 7 percent of all people appearing in trade journal ads that

year. In short, although the percentage of trade journal ads depicting African Americans nearly equalled the percentage of African Americans in the U.S. population, the frequency with which African American actors appeared fell far short of being representative of the percentage of the U.S. population this segment constituted.

According to Bush et al. (1977), there were some gains for African Americans in advertisements by the late 1970s. They discovered African Americans in 13 percent of prime-time ads and in 17 percent of daytime ads in 1973. When they did appear, they were cast in peripheral roles. A Humphrey and Schuman study (1984) of magazine advertisements found that in 1980 African Americans appeared in less than 6 percent of the ads. Fourteen percent of these were laborers. Stearns, Unger, and Luebke (1987) examined 1,175 magazine ads and found African Americans in just over 2 percent of these.

Another content analysis of magazine advertisements revealed that of nearly 7,000 ads only 273, or just under 4 percent, depicted at least one African American. Seventy percent of the 273 were integrated. The largest occupational category for African Americans was business, professional, and student (30%); this category was followed by entertainment and "at leisure" (19%); next was sports (13%); cowboy, soldier, farmer, and other laborer (7%); African or island laborer (5%); maid, cook, servant (4%);

waiter, porter, butler, and chauffeur (3%); and clerical (2%). The percentage of African Americans in the above-skilled labor category was 81, while below-skilled labor was 19 percent (Zinkhan, Cox, and Hong 1986).

By 1986 African Americans constituted 12 percent of the U.S. population, yet only 10.5 percent of trade advertisements depicted them. Moreover, African Americans made up only 4.5 percent of the total number of people appearing in trade journal ads (Stevenson 1991). Not only was it true that African Americans were underrepresented in ads but quite often they have also been portrayed in an unappealing manner and in less prestigious positions. There have been instances of overt and subtle racism.

Racism in Advertisements

Advertisers have generally attempted to avoid offending consumers, but despite their efforts, controversy has occasionally occurred. Some maintain that old racial stereotypes persist to this day. Such was the claim of Dr. Brenda Verner, president of Verner Communications in Chicago. She maintained that the following African American stereotypes have not changed dramatically during the past century: the statuses of "mammy," seductress, pimp, and watermelon eater, and the qualities of cowardice, savagery, and stupidity (Strugatch 1990). Instead of

eliminating these images Strugatch claimed that advertisers chose to modify them to suit their needs. This practice occasionally resulted in costly race-related blunders.

Such was the case of a Westin Hotel advertisement depicting an African American woman as director of housekeeping (Cosco 1991; Porter 1990). This portrayal was indicative of one of the oldest stereotypes--that of the African American as household servant. The Benetton Corporation has also run some controversial ads. One depicted an African American and a Caucasian man handcuffed together, with the implication that the Caucasian man had arrested the African American. Another ad featured an African American woman breast-feeding a Caucasian infant (Porter 1990). Here, viewers witnessed the stereotype of the African American as a caregiver and nurturer for Caucasians.

Some poorly planned advertisements may not appear overtly offensive; yet, they depict subtle racist messages. For instance, advertisers occasionally make the mistake of portraying dark-complexioned African American parents with light-complexioned children (Porter 1990). This practice may not seem questionable at face value but may suggest that these parents want their children to abandon their African American heritage and become Caucasian. Cosco (1991) found an error in judgment made by Revlon in its advertisement for "Unforgettable" cologne. African

American Nat King Cole was depicted singing "Unforgettable" while only Caucasian actors appeared with the product. This scenario suggested that African Americans serve only to entertain Caucasians and cannot actively participate with them. In addition, it implied that the product advertised was intended only for Caucasian consumers because they were the only ones who actually had contact with the product. Toyota also erred when it ran an ad with the following copy: "Car red. Knuckles white," hinting that the automobile in question was designed solely for Caucasians (Cosco 1991). Audience research is also helpful in putting the current investigation into perspective.

Television Audience

In a study such as this it is important to gain insight into the television viewing audience to develop an overall view of consumer television exposure. Nielsen researchers ("1992-1993 Report" 1993) found an interesting breakdown of television viewing by age, gender, and time of day. In November 1992 women age 55 and over watched more television than males in that age group and more than women of every other age group during every daytime segment--early morning, daytime, prime-time, Saturday and Sunday. Adolescents of both sexes, ages twelve through seventeen, watched the least amount of television. Saturday morning

was the least watched of all segments, while prime-time captured the most viewers. It is interesting to note that low-income and large households, in addition to those with children under age six, exhibited the highest amount of television viewing. In addition, Bovee and Arens (1992) noted that adolescents watched the least amount of prime-time television when compared with children, men and women.

Of particular interest is the African American viewing audience. The Nielsen researchers ("1992-1993 Report" 1993) discovered that African Americans viewed more television during every time and day segment and for every age group than all other groups and households. The difference was particularly noteworthy among children aged two through eleven. African American children watched 55 percent more than those in "all other" households. Of male viewers aged 18 and over, African American men viewed 90 percent more than did men in the "all other" category. Overall, African Americans viewed 59 percent more than "all other" households for daytime viewing, Monday through Friday, ten o'clock a.m. to four-thirty p.m. Eastern time.

Condry (1989) also found that African Americans watch more television than Caucasians. He argued that this trend begins in childhood. African American viewers who were younger, more affluent, and better educated tended to watch more television than Caucasians in these demographic categories. The opposite was true for Caucasian viewers:

those who were less affluent, less educated, and older watched television with greater frequency than did African Americans in these demographic categories. It is interesting to note that African Americans and Caucasians watch approximately the same amount of prime-time television, but the former watch more daytime television than the latter (Condry 1989). It is worthy of note that African Americans held more favorable attitudes toward television than did Caucasians (Bower 1985; Condry 1989). Bower (1985) discovered that African Americans tended to watch television both to enhance communication among friends and family and for educational purposes. Also worthy of note is the fact that, although the proportion of television households subscribing to cable television grew from 6.4 percent in 1970 to 61.5 percent in 1992, an overwhelming majority of television viewing (64 percent) is devoted to network--ABC, NBC, and CBS--affiliates ("1992-1993 Report" 1993).

Five areas relevant to the current study have been addressed in this chapter: African American images in the advertising industry; television advertising research; print advertising research; instances of racism in advertisements; and demographics of the television viewing audience. This background provides a revealing look at the controversial nature of African Americans in the field of advertising. Moreover, it provides a fertile ground with

which to make comparisons and add newly found insights.

The following methods chapter explains how these areas were integrated into a suitable research format. Content analysis, limitations as well as strengths, is described in detail. Operational definitions, coding categories, and coding rules incorporated in the study are delineated. In addition, results of the calculation of intercoder reliability and that of the preliminary pilot study are included.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH METHODS

In this study I examined the content of televised advertisements that appeared on the CBS network and aired over the course of six consecutive days in November/December, 1995. This time of the year was selected due to expected higher frequencies and wider variety of products and services due to holiday gift-giving time. Viewing times were broken into three day and time categories for analysis, as had been done in previous studies of African American actors in televised advertisements.

The following day and time categories were used: a) weekday afternoon--2:00 to 4:00 p.m.; b) weekday prime-time 7:00 to 10:00 p.m.; c) and Saturday morning 8:00 to 11:00 a.m. These days and times had been used in previous studies of African Americans in televised advertisements. Only commercials advertising a product or service were analyzed. Political advertisements, plugs for television programs, public service announcements, and "info-mercials" were not analyzed in this study.

Content analysis was employed to provide in-depth

description and qualitative analysis of the material at hand. Frequencies for selected variables were presented, along with crosstabulations and the chi-square test of significance. Nine hypotheses were employed.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were devised prior to conducting the study:

- H1: African American actors will appear with higher frequency during weekday daytime than during weekday prime-time advertisements.
- H2: African American actors will, on average, appear with a higher frequency in ads during the Saturday morning time segment than in any one of the other time segments.
- H3: African American male actors will appear with greater frequency than will African American female actors.
- H4: The number of African American child actors and African American adult actors, will each, taken separately, be larger than the number of African American adolescent actors.
- H5: It is expected that ads depicting only African American actors will comprise less than twelve percent of all ads in this analysis.
- H6: When the occupation of African American actors can be ascertained, they will more frequently appear as blue-collar workers or entertainers/sports figures than as white-collar/highly skilled workers.
- H7: African American actors will comprise less than twelve percent of all actors in televised advertisements.
- H8: The amount of time African American actors appear in integrated ads, compared with the amount of time actors of other races appear, will be less than the

corresponding percent of the U.S. population African Americans comprise.

- H9: African American actors will most often be associated with inexpensive goods and services, next most frequently associated with moderately priced goods and services, and least associated with the more expensive products and services.

The Sample

When the study was first initiated, advertisements on ABC, NBC, and CBS were targeted for analysis. Day and time periods selected were mornings 8:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m. Monday through Saturday, afternoons 1:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m. Monday through Saturday, and prime-time evenings 7:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m. for Monday through Friday. A sample of ads from each station, day, and time segment was then observed to determine whether ads across the various day and time segments were comparable. Morning and afternoon advertisements were found to be similar, as were ads across the three networks for each day and time segments. See Appendix A. In light of these findings it was decided to reduce the amount of viewing time.

Because ads across the three networks varied little, any of the three--ABC, NBC, or CBS--could have been selected for analysis. CBS was the station selected for analysis. On this network a total of 799 advertisements for goods and services were analyzed during the week of November 27 through December 2, 1995. Gerbner (1977) found

that in studying television violence, one week of viewing during a given season and viewing television on other selected dates during the year yielded similar results. Public service announcements, "info-mercials," political advertisements, and plugs for television programs and stations had been previously eliminated from analysis because many previous studies did not incorporate these televised segments into their analyses.

The sample consisted of ads aired during the hours of two o'clock p.m. to four o'clock p.m. and seven o'clock p.m. to ten o'clock p.m. Central Standard Time, Monday through Friday. The afternoon times were decreased by an hour--from 1:00 to 4:00 p.m. to 2:00 to 4:00 p.m. because early examination of ads revealed no difference in ads airing between 1:00 to 2:00 p.m. and those appearing during the hours of 2:00 to 4:00 p.m. Saturday morning from eight o'clock a.m. to eleven o'clock a.m. was also studied.

Of the 799 advertisements, 82.8 percent (N=722) depicted at least one human, non-animated actor. The remaining 150 ads had either no actor at all or showed only animated actors or those created by computer-generation, stop-action clay, or some other method.

The breakdown of ads viewed per day was as follows: 15.8 percent (N=138) of ads appeared on Monday; 16.3 percent (N=142) on Tuesday; 17.8 percent (N=155) on Wednesday; 17.9 percent (N=156) on Thursday; 17.3 percent

(N=151) on Friday; and 6.5 percent (N=57) on Saturday, for a total of 799 ads. Of the total, 6.5 percent (N=57) of the 799 ads appeared in the morning (Saturday), 53.4 percent (N=466) appeared in afternoons, and 40.0 percent (N=349) appeared in prime-time evenings.

The Method

Content analysis was used to examine 11 variables (day and time of ad appearance, presence of human actors, product/service advertised, racial composition, number of non African Americans, duration of African American actors' as well as duration of other actors' appearance, as well as age, sex and occupation of each African American actor) in relation to the 799 advertisements. Coding Form, Page 1 was used to gather the following information: advertisement number, day of the week and time of day the ad aired, whether or not there were human actors, whether or not the segment was an ad for a product or service, and racial composition of actors. See Appendix B. I allowed for a maximum of twenty African American actors to be analyzed per ad on Coding Form, Page 2. Thus, three of the 11 variables--sex, age, and occupation--could each have been coded a total of twenty times per ad, depending upon the number of African American actors appearing in the ad. See Appendix C. Content analysis was chosen for this study

because, as Babbie (1983) claimed, it is a good method to use in studying communications as it allows in-depth description and analysis. Bernard Berelson (1971) also maintained that content analysis is useful in identifying intentions of communicators, which in this study may reveal stereotypic or discriminatory practices. Berelson added that content analysis is helpful in describing trends in the content of communications. In this case one of my goals was to compare my research with that of earlier studies of African Americans in advertising. Content analysis is appropriate for this study because it is "...an index to attitudes, interests, values, mores of the population (Berelson 1971, p. 90)." This method is particularly useful in studying "popular communications," which undoubtedly includes the medium of television (Berelson 1971). In addition, this method is used to understand better the "spirit of the age" (Berelson 1971, p. 90).

Content analysis has been the method of choice in a number of different types of studies. This method was first used to study American newspaper content in the 1920s and focused on such topics as politics, sports, and labor. It was also used to examine literary stylistic features (Berelson 1971). World War II saw the beginning of modern content analysis. Intelligence groups used this method to compare songs on European radio stations in an effort to

discover information about troop concentration. At the same time it was being used elsewhere in determining authorship of historical documents. More recently content analysis has been used to discuss and describe certain aspects of the various media, such as magazines, newspapers, and television (Wimmer and Dominick 1987).

As in any content analysis a unit of observation and a unit of analysis have been defined. The material under study, or unit of analysis, in this investigation, for all hypotheses with the exception of H5, is the television commercial. For all but H5 each African American actor serves as the unit of observation--the element which is most closely examined within the unit of analysis. In these instances commercials are described in general terms while African American actors are discussed in greater detail. Because hypothesis #5 addresses advertisements as opposed to actors, the unit of observation is the ad itself.

To help assure reliability and validity of results I have created clearly defined categories into which units of observation have been placed. Each of the variable categories was exhaustive and mutually exclusive so that only one category from each variable might have been selected, and the selection of categories for each variable was complete. Each category and key elements therein were operationally defined to allow for increased objectivity in

the process of coding each advertisement. See Appendices D and E. This specificity ensures less room for error during the coding process.

Intercoder Reliability

Three pilot studies with independent coders were conducted prior to the current investigation. Each person involved in this preliminary coding process was trained and provided with the Coding Rules prior to observing advertisements for analysis. The purpose of the pilot studies was to reveal if and when categories were problematic and required re-definition of variables and key terms.

Reliability is a crucial concern in content analyses. When an acceptable level of reliability is attained it means that using the same measuring instrument repeatedly on a given set of data should yield results within a given range (North, Holsti, Zaninovich, and Zinnes 1963). In this study reliability was obtained when different coders for the pilot study coded the same ads the same way (Condry 1989).

In order to ensure reliable categorization among coders in the pilot study, Holsti's formula was used to determine overall reliability as follows:

$$\text{Reliability} = \frac{4M}{N1 + N2 + N3 + N4}$$

(Wimmer and Dominick 1987). Here M represents the number of agreements among coders with respect to coding decisions; N1, N2, N3, and N4 are the total number of coding decisions each for all coders.

The first two pilot studies revealed problems with the definitions of actor, African American, and time of actors' appearances. It was then decided to add further clarification to the Coding Rules defining African American and actor. A third pilot study was then conducted.

The third pilot study consisted of this researcher and three others, all Caucasian, who viewed ten new advertisements, which, again, were not part of the final analysis. The results, when incorporated into Holsti's formula, revealed an acceptable level of reliability in six of the eight variables (Wimmer and Dominick 1987). The remaining two variables could not be re-defined for more accurate results. See Rules for Coding Form, Page Two, in Appendix E.

The results of inter-coder reliability for the item of product/service (item #4) were incorporated into Holsti's formula as follows:

$$\text{Reliability} = \frac{4(39)}{N1 + N2 + N3 + N4} = \frac{156}{40 + 40 + 40 + 40}$$

$$= 156/160 = 0.975 \text{ for item \#4}$$

$$\text{(product/service).}$$

The results from Holsti's formula for items #4 through #9-- 4) product/service; 5) presence/absence of human actors; 6) racial composition; 8) duration of time African American actors appeared; and 9) duration of time all actors appeared--as well as for "sex," "age," and "occupational role" can be seen in Table 1. A generally recognized level of acceptance for Holsti's formula is .90 or 90 percent (Wimmer and Dominick 1987).

Table 1. Holsti's Reliability Levels for Pilot Study

Item Number and Description		Holsti's Value
4	Product or Service	0.975
5	Presence/Absence of Human Actor	1.00
6	Racial Composition of Actors	1.00
8	Total Seconds African Americans	0.85
9	Total Seconds All Actors	0.80
-	SEX of African American Actor	0.986
-	AGE of African American Actor	0.972
-	Occupation of African American	0.903

An analysis of variance (ANOVA) was run to test intercoder reliability for the coding of the continuous variables--number of seconds only African Americans

appeared (#8) and total number of seconds all actors appeared (#9). The resulting F-values were examined to determine reliability. For item #8 (number of seconds only African American actors appeared) ANOVA was run on ad numbers 1, 4, and 10 because they displayed variation. An F test was run to test between-people differences (MacLennan 1993). This analysis yielded a between-people mean square of 1.3833 with 3 degrees of freedom and a residual mean square of 0.2583 with 12 degrees of freedom. When plugged into the formula, it revealed:

$$F = \frac{\text{MS people}}{\text{MS residual}}$$

$$F = \frac{1.3833}{0.2583} = 5.3554.$$

The F-score of 5.3554 was then plugged into Cronbach's alpha reliability formula (MacLennan 1993) as follows:

$$R = 1 - \frac{1}{5.3554} = 0.8133.$$

The obtained alpha of 0.1867 was greater than the acceptable alpha level of 0.8. Therefore, an acceptable level of internal consistency was achieved for item #8.

For item #9 (number of seconds all actors appeared) on the Coding Form, ad numbers 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, and 10 were analyzed for variance (items 2, 3, and 9 had perfect agreement). The results were then plugged into MacLennan's (1993) F test formula. The between-people mean square was 2.8929 with 3 degrees of freedom while the residual mean square was 0.2817 with 18 degrees of freedom.

$$F = \frac{2.8929}{0.2817} = 10.2694.$$

The F-score of 10.2694 was then plugged into Cronbach's alpha reliability formula as follows:

$$R = 1 - \frac{1}{10.2694} = 0.9026$$

The obtained alpha of 0.9026 was greater than the acceptable alpha level of 0.8. Therefore, an acceptable level of internal consistency was achieved for item #9. Both items #8 and #9 were judged to be reliable measures.

Validity

A high level of reliability alone is not sufficient for a content analysis; validity is equally important. "Validity is the extent to which the concept one wishes to measure is actually measured by a particular scale or index" (Sirkin 1995, p. 69). In other words, a study is

valid when relevant inferences can be drawn from the initial hypotheses and overall scope of the study. Content validity, grounded in logic, is concerned with whether a given measure addresses all of the items purported to be covered. This study satisfies content validity by providing operational definitions and coding forms which are clear and concise and which follow from the theoretical framework, literature review, and methodology used. Items on the Coding Forms address each hypothesis. See Appendices A and B. In contrast to validity, reliability means the ability to replicate a given study and obtain equivalent findings.

Revisions

Once reliability and validity were established, a sampling study was conducted to determine whether advertisements across the three main networks--ABC, NBC, and CBS--varied noticeably and whether weekday morning ads were much different from those which aired during weekday afternoons. To learn this a variation on systematic sampling was carried out. The second ad in every "cell" (time segment, day of the week, and television station) was selected for comparison.

Particular attention was paid to type of product/service advertised and presence or absence of African American actors. A total of 51 cells were obtained. Regarding presence of African American actors, ABC had five

instances for the six days cited (three time slots each for Monday through Friday and two on Saturday), NBC also had five occurrences, and CBS had four. To compare differences between morning and afternoon, consistency of African American appearance in both time slots was examined for each day. ABC had five days in which the presence/absence of these actors was the same for morning and afternoon for those days. NBC had only two such "consistent" days, and CBS had five consistent morning-afternoon days. Last, products and services were compared to spot differences across days, times, and network stations. Products and services were equitable across all three networks. Finally, products and services were compared by time of day. Findings revealed that for morning and afternoon segments, the majority of products and services shown were personal care, food, and medicine, with a few CBS ads for hospital and other medical services.

Because of the similarity between morning and afternoon ads it was not essential to study both of these time segments. See Appendix A. It was then decided to eliminate morning advertisements from the analysis. In addition, due to the similarities across the three networks, advertisements from two networks were dropped. Because of the similarity across network stations, CBS was selected as the network of choice; it did not matter which station was analyzed. The resulting advertisements that

were analyzed were those appearing in the afternoon and evening (prime-time) Monday through Friday, as well as Saturday morning.

CHAPTER V

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

The results of the quantitative content analysis are presented in this chapter. First, the advertisements are presented in terms of presence of human actors, representation by day, time, and overall racial composition. Next, African American actors' demographics are examined and discussed. The chi-square test of significance demonstrates which of these relations are statistically significant.

The first step in analyzing the ads was to determine whether a given ad depicted a human, non-animated actor. Of the total of 799 ads, 83.1 percent (N=664) had at least one non-animated human actor. The remaining 16.9 percent (N=135) had no humans; these were considered "missing" for the frequencies run on the variable "race." See Table 2.

Time of Appearance

The first hypothesis was addressed by examining African American appearances by time of day. In observing Table 3 it is evident that ads depicting only African

Table 2. Presence of Human Actors

Presence of Human Actor	Frequency	Percent
Ads with human actor(s)	664	83.1
Ads with no human actor	<u>135</u>	<u>16.9</u>
Totals	799	100.0

Americans were nearly equally split between afternoons, 51.6 percent of these ads (N=16), and evenings, 48.4 percent (N=15). The bulk of the integrated advertisements was similarly divided between these two time slots; 41.4 percent of these ads (N=72) appeared during the afternoon while 47.7 percent (N=83) aired during prime-time evenings. Only a handful--10.9 percent (N=19)--appeared on Saturday morning. The obtained Chi-square value for this cross-tabulation was 3.462, with 2 degrees of freedom, which was not significant at the .05 level of significance. Therefore, time of day of commercial did not affect racial composition of ads. See Table 3.

Because there was no significant difference in portrayals between afternoon and evening and because African Americans did not appear on average with a higher frequency during morning advertisements, I reject this hypothesis. The 1977 Bush et. al study found results

Table 3. Time of Day by Racial Composition

Time	<u>African American</u>		<u>Integrated</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Morning	--	---	19	10.9	19	9.3
Afternoon	16	51.6	72	41.4	88	42.9
Evening						
(prime-time)	<u>15</u>	<u>48.4</u>	<u>83</u>	<u>47.7</u>	<u>98</u>	<u>47.8</u>
Totals	31	100.0	174	100.0	205	100.0

consistent with those of this study. The former found 17 percent of daytime and 13 percent of prime-time ads depicted African Americans in 1973. However, by 1974 the numbers of African Americans during daytime and prime-time had nearly equalized--but only in the Southern United States. Other studies of that period also found more African American portrayals during the day than during prime-time (Dominick and Greenberg 1970; Wanderer 1970).

Day of Appearance

The second hypothesis was addressed by examining African American portrayals by day. As seen in Table 4 a majority of ads depicting African Americans aired on

weekdays. However, two time slots per weekday--afternoon and evening--were viewed, compared with the Saturday morning slot. None of the African American-only ads appeared on Saturday. Also, Saturday appearances for African American actors in integrated advertisements was quite low when compared to their appearances on weekdays. I did not weight the ads by day and time of appearance because I am only making a general comparison across day and time segments. There was an average frequency of 6.2 African American-only ads per day appearing during weekdays; the average for weekday integrated advertisements was 31. In contrast there were no African American-only ads appearing on Saturday morning. Furthermore, there were only 19 integrated ads on Saturday. The obtained Chi-square value of 8.348, with 5 degrees of freedom, was not significant at the .05 level of significance. Day of the week had no effect on racial composition of ads. Therefore, I will reject this hypothesis. None of the previous studies analyzing televised portrayals of African Americans addressed the question of whether appearances varied by day of the week. See Table 4.

Portrayals by Gender

Of the integrated and all-African American ads, the breakdown by gender of African American actors revealed

Table 4. Day of Week by Racial Composition

Day	<u>African American</u>		<u>Integrated</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Monday	7	22.6	27	15.5	34	16.6
Tuesday	2	6.5	26	14.9	28	13.7
Wednesday	10	32.3	35	20.1	45	22.0
Thursday	3	9.7	27	15.5	30	14.6
Friday	9	29.0	40	23.0	49	23.9
Saturday	--	---	<u>19</u>	<u>10.9</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>9.3</u>
Totals	31	100.1*	174	99.9*	205	100.1*

*Total for African Americans does not equal 100.0 due to rounding. Chi-square = 8.348,df=5, significance = .138

that male appearances prevailed. There were 240 male actors (58.4%) compared with only 171 female actresses (41.6%), for a total of 411 African American actors. Thus, male African Americans outnumbered their female counterparts by nearly one and one half to one. I accept hypothesis #3 because its prediction was that African American male actors would be more prevalent than their African American female counterparts. The Wilkes and Valencia (1989) study similarly found a larger percentage of male African American actors than female actors of this

race. In that study, however, the difference was more noticeable--with males constituting over 70 percent of African American actors. Wanderer (1970) also found that males outnumbered females of this race. See Table 5.

Table 5. Gender of African American Actors

Gender	Frequency	Percent
Male	240	58.4
Female	<u>171</u>	<u>41.6</u>
Totals	411	100.0

Portrayals by Age

With regard to age the majority of African American actors, 59.1 percent (N=243), were adult--ages 20 and above. Thirty-eight percent (N=156) were children aged twelve and under. Adolescents aged thirteen to nineteen were almost nonexistent, at only 2.9 percent (N=12). See Table 6. These data support hypothesis #4, which I accept. Wanderer (1970) reported that of the African American-only ads adults appeared most frequently, followed by children. Adolescents did not appear at all in these ads.

Table 6. Age of African American Actors

Age	Frequency	Percent
Child	156	38.0
Adolescent	12	2.9
Adult	<u>243</u>	<u>59.1</u>
Totals	411	100.0

Racial Composition of Ads

The overwhelming majority of ads--56.7 percent (N=453)--of the total of 799 ads--depicted no African American actors. Integrated advertisements comprised the second-largest category of ads by racial composition with 21.8 percent (N=174). Ads with only African American actors numbered 31, or 3.9 percent. The remaining 0.8 percent (N=6) of the ads depicted human actors whose race could not be determined yet who could not be ruled out as being African American. Because the percentage of ads portraying only African American actors was less than twelve percent, I accept hypothesis #5. The 1989 study conducted by Wilkes and Valencia also found that African American-only ads occurred with less frequency than their numbers in the U.S. population. However, these ads were

more numerous--constituting eleven percent--than African American-only ads in the current study (3.6 percent). Wanderer's 1970 study found that African American-only ads constituted less than one percent of ads.

The total number of African American-only ads combined with integrated ads is N=205. Thus, these ads comprised 25.7 percent of the total of all ads in this study. The 205 total applies to all analyses on African American actors because these were the only ads depicting actors of this race. Again, the 135 "missing" ads were those without human actors. Like the Licata and Biswas (1993) study this study found that ads depicting at least one African American comprised a higher percentage than that corresponding to their number of the U.S. population. However, the current study found a decrease from 35 percent to 25.7 percent of ads depicting at least one African American actor. The findings for this item in the current study more closely match those of Wilkes and Valencia (1989), who found one or more African American present in 6 percent of ads under study. The Wanderer study (1970) noted that 8 percent of ads were integrated. See Table 7.

Portrayals by Occupation

For occupational categories refer to Appendix F. The vast majority of occupational classifications for African

Table 7. Racial Composition of Advertisements

Composition	Frequency	Percent
Only African Americans	31	3.9
Missing (no human actors)	135	16.9
Integrated	174	21.8
No African Americans	453	56.7
Uncertain if African Americans	<u>6</u>	<u>.8</u>
Totals	799	100.1*
Total Integrated and		
African American-only Ads	205	25.7

*Total does not equal 100.0 due to rounding.

Americans were "not applicable" (children), 39.9 percent (N=164) and "unable to determine," 30.7 percent (N=126). The most frequent classification of known occupations for African Americans were those of entertainer, spokesperson, model, and celebrity--comprising 7.1 percent (N=29) of the ads. Occupations or statuses least associated with actors of this race were those of professional, technician, and college graduate, 3.4 percent (N=14). Other occupational frequencies fell between these values. See Table 8a.

After considering occupations by the groups just mentioned, categories were collapsed to allow analysis

Table 8a. African American Occupational Roles

Occupation	Frequency	Percent
Professional, Technician, College Grad.	14	3.4
Clerical, White Collar	22	5.4
Direct Services, Crafts	21	5.1
Unskilled, Farm, Military	16	3.9
Sports	19	4.6
Entertainer, Model, Spokesperson, Celebrity	29	7.1
Unable to Determine	126	30.7
Not Applicable	<u>164</u>	<u>39.9</u>
Totals	411	100.1*

*Total does not equal 100.0 due to rounding.

of occupation by white collar, sports and entertainer/
model/spokesperson/celebrity, and blue collar.

Please refer to Appendix G for re-categorization
guidelines. Results are shown in Table 8b. The Licata and
Biswas (1993) study reported finding 90 percent of African
Americans in "above-skilled" occupational categories.
However, 67 percent of these actors were portrayed "at
leisure." In combining categories from the 1993 study

Table 8b. Re-categorization of African American
Occupational Roles

Occupation	Frequency	Percent
White Collar	37	10.1
Sports/Entertainment	48	13.2
Blue collar	40	11.0
N/A & Unable to Determine	<u>240</u>	<u>65.8</u>
Totals	365	100.1*

*Total does not equal 100.0 percent due to rounding.

to be equivalent with categories used in the current study, findings are not as favorable for African Americans in the earlier study. Sixteen percent of African Americans were cast as sports figures or entertainers while another sixteen percent were blue collar (cowboys, farmers, laborers, waiters, chauffeurs, porters, butlers, maids, cooks, servants and foreign workers). There were no African Americans classified as white-collar workers in the Licata and Biswas study. Wanderer's 1970 study found that the majority of African American actors were categorized as entertainers and sports figures. Because African American actors in the current study were most frequently depicted in blue-collar and sports/entertainment positions, I accept

hypothesis #6.

Frequency of Appearance of African American Actors

To test hypothesis #7 frequencies and percentages of actor depictions were noted. It was discovered there were 411 African American actors while actors of other races numbered 1,200, for a total of 1,611 actors in all. Thus, African American actors comprised 25.5 percent of the total number of actors. Actors of other races made up 74.5 percent. Non-African Americans outnumbered African Americans by three to one. However, because African Americans comprised twenty-five percent of the actors, I reject hypothesis #7. Twenty-five percent is noticeably higher than the less than twelve percent predicted. The twelve percent figure was selected because African Americans comprise twelve percent of the U.S. population. None of the studies analyzing televised portrayals of African Americans addressed the question of actual numbers of African American actors compared with numbers of actors of other races. See Table 9.

There were only thirteen integrated ads in which African Americans outnumbered actors of other races. Of the integrated ads 138 depicted fewer African Americans than actors of other races. Only 22 ads had equal numbers of African American and non-African American actors. See

Table 10.

Table 9. Numbers of African American and Other Actors

Race of Actor	Frequency	Percent
African American	411	25.5
Non-African American	<u>1,200</u>	<u>74.5</u>
Totals	1,611	100.0

Table 10. Distribution of Actors

Distribution of African American Actors	Frequency
More Than Others	13
Numbers Equal to Others	22
Fewer Than Others	<u>138</u>
Total	173

Duration of Portrayals

I next compared the amount of time African American actors appeared with the amount of time all actors

appeared. As seen in Table 11 the number of ads (107) depicting African Americans for only a brief time (under five seconds) outweighs the number of ads (66) depicting these actors for longer periods of time (five seconds or more). The opposite is true for total number of seconds all actors appear. The frequency of ads (167) depicting all actors appearing a greater length of time (five seconds or more) is larger than the frequency of ads (6) depicting all actors for brief amounts of time (under five seconds). The amount of time, in seconds, that actors appeared ranged from less than one second to approximately thirty seconds. Categories were created by collapsing the periods into two-second units and one unit consisting of portrayals lasting less than one second in duration. See Table 11.

The total amount of time that African American actors appeared in integrated advertisements was 893.87 seconds. The total amount of time that all actors appeared in integrated ads was 2,615.22. The difference in these times is 1,721.35 seconds, which represents the amount of time that only non-African American actors appeared. Therefore, African American actors appeared 34.18 percent of the time while actors of other races appeared 65.82 percent of the time. From looking at Table 12 it is evident that African Americans appeared more than twelve percent of the time, which does not support Hypothesis #8. I, therefore, reject this hypothesis. None of the previous studies analyzing

Table 11. Amount of Time African American Actors Appeared by Advertisement

# Seconds Actors Appeared	African American Actors		All Actors	
	F (ads)	%	F (ads)	%
0 all non- integrated ads (not timed for actor appearance)	626	78.3	626	78.3
1 <1 Second	17	2.1	--	---
2 1-2.99 Seconds	52	6.5	2	0.3
3 3-4.99 "	38	4.8	4	0.5
4 5-6.99 "	19	2.4	10	1.3
5 7-8.99 "	17	2.1	14	1.8
6 9-10.99 "	14	1.8	26	3.3
7 11-12.99 "	2	0.3	18	2.3
8 13-14.99 "	4	0.5	15	1.9
9 15-16.99 "	5	0.6	15	1.9
10 17-18.99 "	--	---	12	1.5
11 19-20.99 "	2	0.3	19	2.4
12 21-22.99 "	2	0.3	16	2.0
13 23-24.99 "	1	0.1	15	1.9
14 25-26.99 "	--	---	6	0.8
15 27-28.99 "	--	---	--	---
16 29-30.99 "	--	---	<u>1</u>	<u>0.1</u>
Totals	799	100.1	799	100.3

Note: Totals do not equal 100.0 due to rounding.

televised portrayals of African Americans addressed duration of appearance. See Table 12.

Table 12. Amount of Time All Actors Appeared

Race of Actor	Time, in Seconds	Percent of Total
African American	893.87	34.18
Non-African American	<u>1,721.35</u>	<u>65.82</u>
Totals	2,615.22	100.00

Categorization of Products and Services

Please refer to Appendix H for the initial categorization of products and services. These categories were later collapsed into smaller groupings for ease of comparison.

Frequency of Appearance of Products and Services in Advertisements

Before taking race into account, the most frequently occurring product/service representations were grocery store food, comprising 17.5 percent (N=153); medicine,

vitamins and health food, with 12.3 percent (N=107); and toys and children's videos, with 11.1 percent (N=97). Products and services with the lowest frequencies were home entertainment, airline, furniture, and shopping malls, each comprising 0.1 percent of the total (N=1 each). Other products and services with low frequencies were educational products and services, with 0.2 percent (N=2) and home and auto repair and miscellaneous services, which comprised 0.3 percent (N=3 each). See Table 13a.

The products and services were next re-categorized. This new re-categorization is listed in Appendix I. The breakdown of products and services into the new categories revealed that the largest categories were restaurant/carry-out and grocery at 20.4 percent (N=163) and personal care/health & nutrition at 20.2 percent (N=161). The smallest categories of products and services were clothing, with 1.9 percent, (N=15) and discount stores, with 2.4 percent (N=19). See Table 13b.

To further condense the product and service variable, categories were collapsed to create three categories: expensive goods, moderately priced goods, and inexpensive goods. This final re-categorization of products and services is found in Appendix J. The majority of goods and services fell under the inexpensive category, at 48.7 percent (N=389). Expensive and moderately priced goods and services were nearly equal, with 25.9 percent (N=207) and

Table 13a. Products and Services Advertised

Product/Service	Frequency	Percent
Grocery Store Food	153	17.5
Medicine/Vitamins/Health Food	107	12.3
Toys and Children's Videos	97	11.1
Personal Care Products	72	8.3
Housewares	56	6.4
Jewelry and Camera	55	6.3
Fast Food	48	5.5
Large Purchase	36	4.1
Specialty Stores	36	4.1
Department Stores	29	3.3
Entertainment	24	2.8
Clothing	23	2.6
Hobbies	23	2.6
Discount Stores	19	2.2
Small Appliances	18	2.1
Restaurants	16	1.8
Communications	14	1.6
Office Supplies	12	1.4
Financial/Insurance/Real Estate	7	0.8
Miscellaneous Products	7	0.8
Medical Services	4	0.5

Table 13a. Products and Services Advertised, continued

Product/Service	Frequency	Percent
Mailing/Shipping	4	0.5
Miscellaneous Services	3	0.3
Home/Auto Repair	3	0.3
Educational	2	0.2
Shopping Malls	1	0.1
Furniture	1	0.1
Airline	1	0.1
Home Entertainment	<u>1</u>	<u>0.1</u>
Totals	872	99.8

25.4 percent (N=203), respectively. See Table 13c.

Endorsement of Products and Services by Race

Next, I analyzed products and services by racial breakdown. The first comparison is with the first set of recoded products and services. Ads with only African American actors were most frequently associated with restaurants and grocery store food--45.2 percent (N=14) of African American-only ads appeared in this category. The products least associated with African American-only

advertisements were large purchase items and toys, kid's

Table 13b. Recoded Products and Services Advertised

Product/Service	Frequency	Percent
Large Purchase	46	5.8
Clothing	15	1.9
Hshld. misc. & sm. appliances	68	8.5
Toys, kids videos, educational	92	11.5
Personal Care/Health & Nutrit.	161	20.2
Dept. Stores, Malls, Specialty	60	7.5
Discount Stores	19	2.4
Restaurant, Carry-out, Grocery	163	20.4
Fast Food	46	5.8
Luxuries	101	12.6
Miscellaneous	<u>28</u>	<u>3.5</u>
Totals	799	100.0

videos, educational products/services with 3.2 percent each (N=1 each). There were no African American-only ads for clothing, department stores/ shopping malls/ specialty stores, or fast food.

In examining the categorization of integrated advertisements by product and service it was noted that the

product most associated with integrated ads was restaurant and grocery-store food, which comprised 18.4 percent (N=32)

Table 13c. Final Re-categorization of Products & Services

Product/Service	Frequency	Percent
Expensive	207	25.9
Moderately Priced	203	25.4
Inexpensive	<u>389</u>	<u>48.7</u>
Totals	664	100.0

of this racial category. Toys and children's videos were second most numerous, at 14.4 percent (N=25) of the integrated advertisements. Clothing, discount stores and large purchase items were least associated with integrated ads, with 3.4 percent each (N=6 each). See Table 14a.

Advertisements depicting only non-African American actors were most highly associated with personal care, nutritional, and health products, at 26.0 percent (N=118) and restaurant and grocery-store food, at 21.9 percent (N=99). Products and services least associated with this racial group were miscellaneous products and services, with 1.3 percent (N=6); clothing, at 2.0 percent (N=9); and discount stores, comprising 2.2 percent (N=10). The

obtained Chi-square value for this cross-tabulation was 75.40904, with 30 degrees of freedom. The obtained significance value was 0.0001, which indicates that the relation is significant at the .01 level. Racial composition of ads did affect the type of product or service advertised. See Table 14a.

I next outlined a table which demonstrates only the relation between African American actors and the products and services with which they were associated. Eighteen percent of the integrated ads endorsed restaurant and grocery-store food. Products and services least associated with integrated ads were discount stores, clothing, and large-purchase items, each constituting 3.4 percent (N=6 each). The African American-only ads were similarly most highly associated with restaurant and grocery food, with 45.2 percent (N=14) of ads for these products depicting only African American actors. Large purchase items and toys and children's videos each constituted only 3.2 percent (N=1 each) of African American-only ads. The obtained Chi-square value for this analysis was 19.368 with 10 degrees of freedom and was significant at the $p < .05$ level of significance. Thus, racial composition of ads was affected by the product or service advertised. See Table 14b. The Wilkes and Valencia (1989) study similarly found African Americans were most frequently associated with food products--58 percent in that study. Moreover, African

Table 14a. Products and Services Advertised by Race of Actors

Product/ Service	<u>No Af Ams</u>		<u>? Af Am</u>		<u>Af Am</u>		<u>Integ.</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Lge. Pchs.	32	7.0	--	---	1	3.2	6	3.4	39	5.9
Clothing	9	2.0	--	---	--	---	6	3.4	15	2.3
Hse Misc.										
& Sm. Ap.	20	4.4	--	---	3	9.7	14	8.0	37	5.6
Toys, Etc.	54	11.9	1	16.6	1	3.2	25	14.4	81	12.2
Personal										
& Health	118	26.0	2	33.3	5	16.1	19	10.9	144	21.7
Stores	26	5.7	--	---	--	---	14	8.0	40	6.0
Disc.										
Stores	10	2.2	--	---	2	6.5	6	3.4	18	2.7
Rest. &										
Grocery	99	21.9	2	33.3	14	45.2	32	18.4	147	22.1
Fast Fd.	26	5.7	--	---	--	---	18	10.3	44	6.6
Lux.	53	11.7	1	16.6	2	6.5	17	9.8	73	11.0
Misc.	<u>6</u>	<u>1.3</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>---</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9.7</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>9.8</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>3.9</u>
Totals	453	99.8	6	99.8	31	100.1	174	99.8	664	100.0

Chi-square=75.40904, df=30, p<.01; significance=0.0001

Note: totals may not equal 100.0 due to rounding.

Table 14b. Products and Services Associated with African American Actors

Product/Service	<u>Af. Am.</u>		<u>Integrated</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Large Purchase	1	3.2	6	3.4	7	3.4
Clothing	--	---	6	3.4	6	2.9
Hsehold. Misc.						
& Sm. App.	3	9.7	14	8.0	17	8.3
Toys, Kids Videos	1	3.2	25	14.4	26	12.7
Personal & Health	5	16.1	19	10.9	24	11.7
Dept. & Spec. Stores	--	---	14	8.0	14	6.8
Discount Stores	2	6.5	6	3.4	8	3.9
Rest. & Grocery	14	45.2	32	18.4	46	22.4
Fast Food	--	---	18	10.3	18	8.8
Luxuries	2	6.5	17	9.8	19	9.3
Miscellaneous	<u>3</u>	<u>9.7</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>9.8</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>9.8</u>
Totals	31	100.1*	174	99.8*	205	100.0

*Total percents do not equal 100.0 due to rounding. Chi-square=19.368; df=10; significance=0.036

Americans in the 1989 study were also associated least with large purchase items--17 percent. Plotkin's 1970 and Wanderer's 1970 studies also found that African Americans were least associated with clothing. Furthermore, Wanderer

(1970) reported that African Americans were most often associated with personal-care products, which are inexpensive items.

In order to test hypothesis #9 many factors required examination. Ads depicting only African Americans were more heavily associated with certain goods and services than were integrated ads. For example, there were no fast-food ads depicting only African American actors. However, this category was ranked fourth of eleven product/service categories for integrated ads. Both the all-African American and integrated ads were most frequently used to promote restaurants and grocery-store food, a fairly inexpensive category of items. Those same two categories of actors were also least associated with ads for large purchase items--the most expensive products and services in this study.

Last, the final re-categorization of products and services was compared by race. From studying Table 14c it is evident that both African American-only and integrated advertisements are most heavily associated with inexpensive products and services, at 67.7 percent (N=21) and 43.1 percent (N=75), respectively. Both of these racial groups are also least associated with expensive goods and services, with 9.7 percent (N=3) of the African American-only ads and 21.3 percent (N=37) of the integrated ads falling under this category. The obtained Chi-square value

for this cross-tabulation was 7.086, with 2 degrees of freedom. The obtained significance value of 0.029 was significant at the .05 level of significance. Thus, the price of products and services affected racial composition of advertisements. See Table 14c.

Table 14c. Final Re-categorization of Products and Services Associated with African Americans

Product/Service	<u>Af. Am.</u>		<u>Integrated</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Expensive	3	9.7	37	21.3	40	19.5
Moderately Priced	7	22.6	62	35.6	69	33.7
Inexpensive	<u>21</u>	<u>67.7</u>	<u>75</u>	<u>43.1</u>	<u>96</u>	<u>46.8</u>
Totals	31	100.0	174	100.0	205	100.0

Chi-square=7.086, df=2, $p < .05$; significance=0.029

Ads depicting both African American-only and integrated actors were most heavily associated with inexpensive products and services, next most with moderately priced goods and services, and least associated with expensive products and services. These data support hypothesis #10, which will be accepted. In the following chapter I will briefly summarize the acceptance and

rejection of hypotheses. Plotkin's 1970 study revealed that African Americans endorsed soft drinks more than any other product or service. These data are consistent with the current finding that 47 percent of ads depicting African Americans endorsed inexpensive products.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study was undertaken to examine and present the manner in which African American actors are portrayed in televised advertisements. Advertisements under study were those which aired over a six-day period during November 1995 and included weekday afternoons and prime-time evenings, and Saturday morning. This sample was selected to allow for possible differences in types of advertisements which would appear at different times and on different days.

Quantitative content analysis was conducted to examine African American portrayals in a wide variety of commercial advertisements. Four variables were used exclusively to analyze African American portrayals. Seven other variables described more general aspects of the ads.

The more general variables consisted of the following: day and time of appearance; presence or absence of human actor(s); type of product or service advertised; racial composition of actors within the ad; number of non-African American actors in the ad; and number of seconds all actors appeared in integrated advertisements. Variables used

specifically in coding African American actors were gender, age, occupation, and number of seconds these actors appeared in integrated ads.

A pilot study was conducted prior to the main study in order to test reliability. Four coders, including the researcher, tested ten advertisements before proceeding with the study. The value of overall reliability, using Holsti's formula, ranged from a low of 0.80 to a high of 1.00. This result was within the acceptable range of reliability.

The coded data were analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Percentages and the Chi-square test of significance were used to determine basic patterns and significant relations between the variables. Results of the quantitative analyses were presented in Chapter V.

Summary of Quantitative Results

Results of the quantitative analyses demonstrated that African American portrayals in today's televised advertisements are more favorable than their portrayals from previous decades. However, in some respects African American portrayals are no better. Products associated with this racial group have remained fairly constant over the years, taking into consideration Wanderer's 1970 study

and Plotkin's study published the same year.

Some gains made by African American actors, as shown in this study, are that they are not overwhelmingly associated with fast food and exclusively inexpensive and unhealthy goods and services. This finding is a noticeable improvement over previous studies, which reported almost exclusive African American association with fast food, alcohol, and tobacco and virtually no pricier items (Dates and Barlow 1990; Plotkin 1970). Other strides that have been made demonstrate a larger than expected percentage of integrated ads found in this study. This discovery is particularly noteworthy when compared with earlier studies, (e.g., Bush et al. 1977; Humphrey & Schuman 1980; Stevenson 1991; and Zinkhan et al. 1986).

African Americans are also becoming more visible as far as actual numbers of actors, compared with actors of other races. This study showed an increase in the percentage African Americans comprised of all actors when compared with Stevenson's 1991 study.

None of the studies cited in the literature review analyzed duration of time of African American appearance in ads. However, the current study found that these actors appeared for a longer time than expected. The percentage of time during which they appeared was greater than the percentage of ads in which they appeared.

In comparing occupational status of African Americans

in this study with that of previous studies, some gains were noted. Cox's 1969 study revealed a very low percentage of African Americans classified as "above skilled labor" and a high percentage as unskilled labor. The trend improved by 1967/68 (Cox 1970). Kassarian (1969) also reported a shift away from unskilled to more highly skilled professions for this segment of society. Although the current study had a lower percentage of unskilled African Americans than a 1986 study by Zinkhan et al., the current percentage of highly skilled actors was lower than that found by Zinkhan et al.

Some items that have remained relatively constant over the years with respect to African Americans in advertisements is their percentages on daytime versus evening television portrayals (Bush et al. 1977; Dominick and Greenberg 1970; and Wanderer 1970), with only slightly more African Americans appearing during the daytime than the evening.

Age and gender of African American actors have also remained relatively stable. Wanderer (1970) found that males outnumbered females while adults and children each outnumbered adolescents. The same results were found in this study.

Time of Appearance

In this study, as with previous studies, African Americans appeared with only a slightly higher frequency

during afternoons than during prime-time. It was predicted that these actors would appear with a higher frequency during the afternoon and on weekends than during prime-time. The reason for this prediction was that the afternoon viewing audience is largely made up of women, who might not be as biased as would a more heterogenous audience. The Saturday morning audience was expected to consist of children watching cartoons. It was expected that a more mixed race of television portrayals would appear during this time because there is no great concern regarding the race of actors young children watch.

Day of Appearance

There was a noticeably higher number of ads analyzed on weekdays, with two time slots per day, compared with one time slot on Saturday. Numbers of integrated ads on Saturday were low. A number of inferences can be made with respect to these findings. Racist attitudes might be responsible for the fact that African Americans are shown with less frequency during prime-time because of the larger audience this time segment draws. It is possible that African Americans are shown more often during the day because racist attitudes may deem them more appropriate to be shown during the day, when a less heterogeneous audience is viewing.

Portrayals by Age

The majority of African American actors in this study,

approximately 60 percent, were adults. Children comprised just over a third of all actors, while adolescents made up less than 5 percent of the actors. It was hypothesized that these results would be found due, in part, to a suspected fear on the part of the media of heavier use of adolescents of this race. Another reason for their small numbers may be due to the fact that this age group watches a relatively small amount of television. Earlier studies also demonstrated low numbers of adolescent African American portrayals.

Portrayals by Gender

The results of gender makeup were as predicted. Males outnumbered females by approximately three to two. The rationale behind the hypothesis that male African Americans would appear with a higher frequency than females was that it was felt society and those making advertising decisions would use more males because men are stereotypically viewed as being more knowledgeable than women.

Racial Composition of Ads

The prediction that ads depicting only African American actors would comprise less than twelve percent of all ads in the study was accurate. This group comprised less than 4 percent of all ads in the study. Integrated ads constituted twenty-one percent of all ads, which was above the 12 percent used as a guideline. The rationale behind expecting a low percentage of ads with African

American actors was that prevailing racist attitudes would keep larger numbers off the television screen.

Portrayals by Occupation

The occupations predicted to be more highly associated with African American actors are those of lower status and lower skill-level requirements. Results of this study demonstrated that these actors were seldom associated with occupations requiring a high level of skill. Less than 4 percent of African Americans were depicted in the most highly skilled professions and statuses, including professionals, technicians, and college graduates before categories were collapsed into smaller units. It was also hypothesized that African American actors would be shown largely as entertainers and sports figures because they are disproportionately associated with these occupational fields. Results showed that African Americans were most often depicted in blue collar positions, followed by sports and entertainment, and finally, in white-collar positions.

Frequency of Portrayal of African American Actors

In examining actual numbers of African American actors, results revealed that these actors were far outnumbered by actors of other races. However, these findings did not support the hypothesis that African American actors would comprise less than twelve percent of all actors in the study. In fact, they comprised one-fourth of all actors. It is encouraging to know that at

least this study found African American actors comprising a higher percentage of actors than the percentage of the U.S. population they constitute. It is interesting to note that although actual numbers of African American actors are high, numbers of ads depicting actors of this race are still fairly low. One possible explanation for this negative number is that it is more socially acceptable to depict these actors in concentrated groups, rather than to show them in a higher number of ads, which might seem to some as inundating consumers with non-Caucasian actors.

Duration of Portrayals

Prior to analyzing the advertisements it was predicted that the amount of time African Americans appeared would be less than twelve percent of the time all actors appeared. It was thought that, even if more actors of this race were being used, advertisers did not want them to appear for any length of time. In other words, it was suspected that actors would be used in a token fashion and would make only very brief appearances. However, results showed that African Americans actually appeared 33 percent of the time, which was a noticeably higher percentage than twelve. This finding suggests increased willingness on the part of advertisers to increase African American exposure in ads.

Endorsement of Products and Services

Finally, it was predicted that African Americans would be most highly associated with inexpensive products. It is

interesting to note that there were no advertisements for alcohol or tobacco in this study. None of the African American-only ads were used to promote fast food. Prior to collapsing categories African American actors were most often used to promote restaurants and grocery-store food. As expected, these actors were least associated with large-purchase items, but they were also heavily used in ads for health and medicine.

After collapsing the product and service category it was noted that African Americans were most heavily associated with inexpensive goods and services, followed by moderately priced items, and, finally, with expensive items. These findings supported the hypothesis.

Limitations of the Study

As with any research method, content analysis has its limitations. There may be issues with respect to generalizability. In any given content analysis there is always room to include more research (Krippendorff 1980). Furthermore, in conducting my examination of length of time actors appeared I could have put this measure in perspective by controlling for time during which differing numbers of actors appeared in a given scene. This change would have made it possible to determine differences in, for example, ads depicting several African American actors

in a given scene who were recorded as appearing for five seconds compared with ads portraying only one African American actor who appeared for an equal amount of time. Moreover, I could have made comparisons between time of actor appearance and the total duration of each advertisement. Additional research could be conducted to examine every day of the week for each of the three time slots across all three networks. The current study is a starting point from which to conduct additional, related studies.

Relevance of Theories Used

I conclude the summary of quantitative results by relating findings of this study to the theoretical perspective. With respect to conflict theory's focus on disequilibrium among societal groups it appears this disequilibrium exists with respect to African Americans in televised advertisements, in some respects. Ads portraying only African Americans constituted a mere 3.9 percent of all ads in this study; this proportion falls far below the African American proportion of the U.S. population (12 percent). African American actors in this study were most often portrayed as sports figures, entertainers and blue-collar workers. These findings suggest that ruling class, or advertising, interests, which have control over

televised portrayals, desired to keep African American actors largely out of the white-collar arena and to perpetuate an image of this segment of society as being left out of the more elite occupational statuses. In addition, African Americans continue to be associated with inexpensive products and services. It is possible that advertisers, in their quest to sway viewers perceived to be conspicuous consumers, do not want their more costly products associated with people stereotyped to be in a lower class. Furthermore, it is evident that in light of the current findings and those of previous studies a pattern emerges which suggests a continuation of some discriminatory practices perpetuated by traditional authority. Some improvements have been noted, but the overall trend has been for stereotypes to continue from generation to generation.

The tenets of Myrdal's American Dilemma, with its focus on prejudices against African Americans, are also present. Prejudice manifests itself in this case with respect to social intercourse, which would encompass television portrayals. Myrdal's levels of discrimination outlined a hierarchy in which Caucasians largely found interracial marriages most disturbing, followed by less personal relationships between Caucasians and African Americans. The level of interaction which takes place between actors in televised advertisements is much lower in

the discrimination hierarchical scheme; thus, this type of interaction would be least emotionally charged for Caucasians. It should, therefore, stand to reason that changes or improvements for African Americans in the advertising industry would not be received with hostility by those in a position of power, i.e. Caucasians. In comparing the current study with previous studies of African American advertising portrayals some improvements have been noted, such as overall frequency of integrated advertisements and frequency of appearance of African American actors. These improvements would seem to coincide with Myrdal's assertion that prejudices yield to societal norms one step at a time.

Assimilation theory concerned itself with the level of participation of various societal groups in the larger society. In studying African American portrayals in televised ads it is apparent that actors of this race are not fully assimilated into American life. In addition to the instances cited above (proportion of African American-only ads, occupational statuses, and products and services with which they are associated) African Americans also appear more frequently during daytime than during primetime television. These data suggest that African Americans are less assimilated because of lack of exposure to a more diverse audience. Exceptions include duration of portrayals, day of appearance, and frequency of African

American appearance when compared with actors of other races. The underlying reason for this lack of African American assimilation must lie in various historical phenomena. First, African Americans were geographically fragmented during the time of slavery; this fragmentation resulted in the failure of this segment of society to obtain power among themselves or power in the larger society. Moreover, as De Vos (1975) postulated, societies comprised of groups of differing origin experience a higher degree of conflict. Because African Americans have a different geographical origin than do those of the larger American society there is an expectation for a high degree of conflict between these groups, which manifests itself in all arenas of society, including that of advertising.

Finally, in discussing the social construction of reality, with its focus on societal perceptions, emphasis is placed on socialization. Because television is such an integral part of the American household it is, therefore, a key socializing agent. The television set may be viewed as a primary socializing agent in cases in which heavy viewing takes place early in life. This "base-world" on which we build and put in perspective future experiences shapes our views for a lifetime. However, if television viewing is not extensive in the early years it is considered a secondary socializing agent and shapes our views to a lesser extent than did primary socialization agents. The

more a particular image is presented, the more we equate it with reality. We, as consumers, identify with actors who appear similar to ourselves, whether by race, gender, occupational status, or any other characteristic we deem important. In examining African American portrayals in this study it would seem that Americans undoubtedly have mixed perceptions of these actors. First, viewers see African Americans seldom portrayed in white-collar positions or with expensive goods and services. Exposure to these portrayals may lead Americans of all races to perceive African Americans as less skilled, less knowledgeable, and less able to purchase more expensive products. The obvious question that arises is, "Are these the perceptions that should be generated on television?"

Suggestions for Further Research

To further investigation of this topic advertisements could be studied more extensively. As mentioned in Chapter IV content analysis has limitations. Some changes could be made to extend the current study. To further investigation of this topic advertisements could be studied more extensively.

More Extensive Network Analysis

Several weeks throughout the year could be selected, and ads across all three major networks analyzed for all

time segments during each day of the week. Thus, ads appearing on ABC, NBC, and CBS would be studied during morning (8:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m.), afternoon (1:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m.), and evening (7:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m.) for all days of the week, Monday through Sunday. In addition, several weeks from different viewing seasons would be used. Such a study would provide more assurance that the data from this study are representative.

Comparison among Network and Cable Television

A similar study could be conducted contrasting network televised advertisements with those appearing on one or more cable television channels. Such a study would be more up-to-date because a large proportion of the American viewing audience subscribes to cable television and prefers these channels to network stations. Another suggestion would be to compare and contrast advertisements airing on an African American stations, such as Black Entertainment Television, with ads on other cable or network stations.

Questionnaire Addressing Racial Perceptions

A third possibility for a related study would involve compiling questionnaires designed to elicit viewer responses to televised advertisements. Such a study would probably be quite similar to the popular Nielsen television research, in which forms sent to selected households are used to describe demographics of program viewers. Respondents could report on any number of questions, such

as their feelings on actors' occupational status, whether African Americans appear to be knowledgeable in a given ad, or whether they actually notice actors of this race in the ads.

Any of the above suggestions for additional research could just as easily apply to studies focussing on actors of other races. Or, the study could be expanded to include analysis of actors of all races appearing in televised advertisements. Finally, any of the previously mentioned studies could be expanded in another way--to include public service announcements and political advertisements.

APPENDIX A

PRELIMINARY COMPARISON OF ADS ACROSS NETWORKS,
DAYS AND TIMES,
AND PRESENCE/ABSENCE OF AFRICAN AMERICAN ACTOR(S)

		<u>NETWORK</u>		
		ABC	NBC	CBS
Day/Time		1+ African American present: Y/N		
M	8-11	toothbrush N	Ford cars Y	toothpaste N
	1-4	fem. med. N	pizza crust N	garden tool N
	7-10	luxury cars Y	fruit juice N	make-up Y
T	8-11	florist N	infant form. N	drug store Y
	1-4	fem. underwear N	macaroni N	tech. school N
	7-10	Yellow Pages Y	camera Y	face cream N
W	8-11	hardware store N	dept. store N	perfume N
	1-4	sinus med. N	window clean Y	hospital N
	7-10	fast food Y	restaurant N	restaurant N
Th	8-11	pain med. N	breath fresh N	sheet metal N
	1-4	cookies N	cereal N	hospital N
	7-10	shampoo N	hardwre. st. N	kids' drnk. N
F	8-11	watches Y	mattresses Y	optical st. N
	1-4	oven cleaner N	diapers N	optical st. N
	7-10	soft drink Y	restaurant N	swim pool N
S	8-11	cereal N	toilet paper Y	child's doll Y
	1-4	deodorant N	soft drink N	inhaler med. Y

APPENDIX B
CODING FORM, PAGE 1

Advertisement Number:___

1. Time of Day: Morning___ Afternoon___ Evening___
2. Date and day of the week_____
3. Type of segment:
 - A) **Commercial advertisement for a good or service**___
(Continue)
 - B) Other___ (Stop here)
 - C) Unable to determine___ (Stop here)
4. Name of product or service advertised:

5. Is there at least one human, non-animated actor in the ad?
 - A) Yes___
 - B) No___ (Stop here)
6. Describe the race of the actors in the commercial:
 - A) All are non-African American___ (Stop here)
 - B) Unable to determine if any African American actors___ (Stop here)
 - C) **All are African American**___ (Continue)
 - D) **There is more than one race represented, including African American**___ (Continue)

If the **boldface** answers for questions #3, #5, and #6 were checked, continue analysis with Coding Form Page 2.

APPENDIX C
CODING FORM, PAGE 2

Ad #: _____

AFRICAN AMERICAN ACTOR

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<u>SEX</u>										
<u>AGE</u> <u>(C/T/A)</u>										
<u>OCCUP-</u> <u>ATION</u>										

AFRICAN AMERICAN ACTOR

	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
<u>SEX</u>										
<u>AGE</u> <u>(C/T/A)</u>										
<u>OCCUP-</u> <u>ATION</u>										

8. Combined total number of seconds only African American actors appear: _____
9. Combined total number of seconds all actors appear: _____
10. Total number of all non-African Americans appearing in ad: _____

APPENDIX D

RULES FOR CODING FORM, PAGE 1

Advertisement Number: Each commercial advertisement is numbered chronologically, from first through last, beginning with the first commercial on the first tape to the last one on the last tape.

Time of Day: Code ads as morning, afternoon, or evening.

Morning: Code only ads appearing between 6:00 a.m. through 11:59 a.m.

Afternoon: Code only ads appearing between 12:00 noon through 5:59 p.m.

Evening: Code only ads appearing between 6:00 p.m. through 11:59 p.m.

Date: Code ads according to the day, month, and year on which the ad appeared.

Day of the Week: Code ads according to the day of the week on which they appeared (Monday through Sunday).

Type of Segment: Ads for goods and services were selected from the entire number according to the following breakdown:

A) Commercial Advertisement for a Good or Service: A televised, non-program time slot aired between two different programs, or between two segments of one program, purchased by an advertiser to promote a good or service available for purchase or for a fee by the consumer, which specifically names the product or service in question. Program-length advertisements, i.e. "info-mercials" do not qualify.

B) Other: The following were not included for analysis:

1. Station Identification: A televised announcement informing the viewer of the identity of the station being broadcast
2. Public Service Announcement: A televised, non-program segment, persuasive in nature, with an ethical or moral message, which does not direct the viewer to purchase a good or service (e.g. urges viewers to abandon stereotypes or to donate blood)
3. Plug for a Television Program: A televised, non-program segment which urges viewers to watch a television program at a specific time and/or date
4. Advertisement for a Movie: A commercial advertisement urging consumers to view a movie at a public movie theater (If this ad presented **only clips from the movie itself** it was not analyzed for this study. If, however, the ad used commercial actors not appearing in the movie, it was considered an advertisement for a good/service and was coded for purposes of this study)
5. Political Advertisement: An ad urging viewers to vote for a particular political candidate

C) Unable to Determine: It was unclear which type of ad this was, and it could not be coded. These were not used for analysis.

Product: The name of the product advertised is indicated, including as much information as possible.

Service: The name of the service advertised is indicated, including as much information as possible.

Animated: This category includes drawn, painted, computer-animated, stop-action clay or other figurine made to represent a human actor or any depiction of a human actor that is not in reality human.

Actor/Person: A human appearing in a televised advertisement. Only those whose faces (at least) appear amply focused in any given shot for coders to determine race are included. Actors who are depicted only from the neck down or only from the rear are not included. If an actor is first shown from the rear (no face showing) but is later recognizable from a frontal view within an ad, this person is counted as one and the same actor. As long as at least half of a person's face is shown and in focus at some point in the shot, he or she is counted as an actor. For example, a person who slips in and out of focus, all other requirements being satisfied, counts as an actor for the time he or she is in focus. If an actor physically turns around in a scene, he or she is counted as an actor during the time of a frontal view. People who, within an ad, appear on a television set or computer screen or in a shot from a movie scene are not considered actors. However, if such an actor speaks directly to the viewer (not the viewer within the ad itself, but the coder or television consumer) he or she is counted as an actor. Actors who move too rapidly through a shot to be in focus at all or to be recognized for race and gender are not counted. Multiple appearances of any given actor will be counted as one and the same actor, unless such an actor plays separate and distinct roles within the ad. If an actor changes clothing and the coder is unsure if this constitutes multiple appearances of the same actor, the person is counted as separate actors. If, however, the person changes clothing and the coder is certain this is the same actor, he or she is counted as one and the same actor. When it is uncertain whether two apparent actors are one and the same, they are counted as separate actors.

Race of Actors: Actors are coded according to the following scheme:

- A) Non-African American. If all actors are non-African American, this category on the Coding Form is checked; analysis is not conducted on this ad.
- B) Unable to determine. If it is difficult to determine whether any actors are African American, this category is checked on the Coding Form; analysis is not conducted on this ad.
- C) African American. If all actors are African American, this category is checked on the Coding Form, and the ad is analyzed.

D) Interracial. If there is more than one race represented in the advertisement, including at least one African American actor, this category is checked on the Coding Form and is analyzed.

African American Actor: Any actor in a televised advertisement believed to possess African ancestors. He or she is categorized as African American if the coder believes that a portion of the actor's heritage is African.

Speaking Role: An actor is considered to have a speaking role if he or she utters at least one complete, audible, phrase or idea or attempts same but is interrupted after speaking at least one word. If an actor does not speak or attempts to speak but is interrupted before completion of the first word, he or she does not have a speaking role. If it is uncertain whether an actor speaks, he or she is coded "U" for uncertain. Grunts, coughs, sneezes, screams, shrieks, et cetera or written words or phrases or signs held by an actor do not constitute a speaking role. In contrast, "Ouch!," "Hey!," "Mmm-hmmnn," "Aaahh," and other utterances whose meanings can be easily ascertained are acceptable. Actors in crowds whose verbal utterances are inconsequential to the advertisement are not included. If an actor sings, this is also considered a speaking role.

APPENDIX E

RULES FOR CODING FORM, PAGE 2

Prior to completion of Coding Form, Page 2 the advertisement ID # from Coding Form, Page 1 is copied at the top of Coding Form, Page 2 to avoid confusion. The following rules apply only to African American actors unless otherwise specified.

Sex of Actor: Code each African American actor "M" for male or "F" for female. If the sex of an actor cannot be determined code "U" for uncertain.

Age of Actor: Code each African American actor "A" for adult, ages twenty and over; "T" for teen, ages thirteen through nineteen; or "C" for child, ages twelve and under. If uncertain assign the actor to the most likely category.

Occupation: If it is difficult or impossible to determine an actor's occupation, job, career, or position held, code "U" for uncertain occupation. If an actor's occupation can be determined by his or her clothing, surroundings, statements, or other information, indicate the occupation held. If an actor's specific occupation cannot be ascertained but it can be determined whether the actor is a blue- or white-collar worker, indicate this on the coding form.

Blue-Collar: An occupational category for any actor whose specific occupation cannot be determined but who performs manual labor.

White-Collar: An occupational category for any actor whose specific occupation cannot be determined but who holds an office position.

Combined Total Number of Seconds African American Actors Appear: Using a stopwatch, calculate the total number of seconds African American actors appear within a given ad. Count an actor's appearance only for the amount of time he or she qualifies as an "actor" as outlined in the Coding Rules for Coding Form Page 1. For example, if an actor comes in and out of focus, only count the amount of time the actor is in focus. Also, if an actor physically turns around within a shot and is in focus with a frontal view for at least some of the time, count only the time the actor's face is in focus and view.

Combined Total Number of Seconds All Actors Appear: Using a stopwatch, calculate the total number of seconds all human actors of any race appear within a given ad. In order to be counted each actor must satisfy the qualifications for an "actor" as previously defined in the Coding Rules for Coding Form, Page 1. See definition of "Combined Total Number of Seconds African American Actors Appear," above, for additional explanation.

Total Number of African Americans Appearing in the Ad: Using the definitions of "actor/person" and "African American" count the total number of African Americans appearing in each ad.

Total Number of Non-African American Actors Appearing in the Ad: Using the definitions of "actor/person" and "African American" count the total number of actors who do not fall under the category of "African American" appearing in each ad.

APPENDIX F

CATEGORIZATION OF OCCUPATIONS

1. Professional: physician, lawyer, college professor, electric engineer, RN, teacher, social worker
2. Administrative: mayor, superintendent of schools, factory owner, office manager, hotel manager, warehouse supervisor, assembly supervisor
3. Technician: accountant, hospital lab technician, dental assistant, (kitchen home economist)
4. Clerical: private secretary, stenographer, office secretary, bookkeeper, telephone operator, typist, postal clerk, computer operator, file clerk
5. Direct services: stock broker, police officer, homemaker, maid, sales person, beautician, waitress/waiter, (sales clerk, counter help)
6. Crafts: electrician, plumber, carpenter, welder, auto mechanic, butcher, chef, construction worker, circus worker
7. Operatives: assembly line, textile machine, delivery truck driver, stock clerk, coal miner, garbage collector
8. Unskilled: box packer, laundry worker, salad maker, yarn washer, parking lot attendant, (baggage handler)
9. Farm work: cattle farmer, fruit harvester, national park worker
10. Sports figure: athlete in any sport
11. Entertainers: singers, dancers, musicians
12. White collar, not otherwise specified
13. Blue collar, not otherwise specified
14. Spokesperson

15. Unable to determine occupation
16. N/A (child)
17. Military: member of any of the armed forces
18. Unemployed: specified as such
19. Professional model: fashion model, etc.
20. Celebrity: actor/actress, etc.
21. College graduate

The occupational categories above, numbered 1 through 9, were taken from the "Occupational Prestige Ranking: United States" table (pp. 216-217) in Rothman 1987. These categories were then collapsed into the following occupational categories*:

1. Professional, technical, and college graduate
2. Clerical, white collar
3. Direct services, crafts
4. Unskilled, farm, military
5. Sports figures
6. Entertainer, professional model, celebrity, spokesperson
7. Unable to determine
8. Not applicable

* There were no actors designated as "administrative," "operative," "blue collar," or "unemployed."

APPENDIX G

FINAL RE-CATEGORIZATION OF OCCUPATIONS

The following list shows how the occupational categories were re-categorized:

White Collar: Professional, technical, college graduate,
clerical, white collar

Sports and Entertainment: Sports figure, entertainer,
celebrity, professional model,
spokesperson

Blue Collar: Unskilled, farm, military, direct services,
crafts

N/A and Unable to Determine

APPENDIX H

INITIAL CATEGORIZATION OF PRODUCTS AND SERVICES

- 1) large purchase
- 2) home entertainment
- 3) jewelry and camera
- 4) office supplies
- 5) furniture
- 6) small appliances
- 7) clothing
- 8) toys and children's videos
- 9) housewares
- 10) personal care products
- 11) alcohol
- 12) tobacco
- 13) grocery items
- 14) fast food
- 15) restaurant
- 16) medicine/vitamin/health food
- 17) hobbies and pets
- 18) department stores
- 19) discount stores
- 20) insurance, financial, and real estate
- 21) furniture rental
- 22) shopping malls
- 23) specialty stores
- 24) pawn shop/quick cash
- 25) home and auto repair
- 26) entertainment
- 27) physicians
- 28) health department
- 29) employment services and continuing education
- 30) mailing/shipping
- 31) airline
- 32) bus transportation
- 33) miscellaneous products
- 34) miscellaneous services
- 35) communications
- 36) educational/museum

APPENDIX I

NEW RE-CATEGORIZATION OF PRODUCTS AND SERVICES

- 1) large purchase (#1 large purchase items; #27 physicians, dentists, and hospitals; #20 insurance, real estate, legal services and banks; #5 furniture; #25 home and auto repair)
- 2) #7 clothing
- 3) #9 housewares and #6 small appliances
- 4) #8 toys and children's videos and #36 educational products/ services and museum
- 5) #10 personal care products and #16 medicine, vitamins, and health food
- 6) #18 department stores, #22 shopping malls, and #23 specialty stores
- 7) #19 discount stores
- 8) #13 grocery food and stores and #15 restaurants
- 9) #14 fast food
- 10) luxuries (#2 home entertainment; #3 jewelry, cameras, perfume, and watches; #4 office supplies; #17 hobbies; and #26 entertainment including movies, cable TV, music, and psychic)
- 11) miscellaneous (#30 mailing and shipping; #31 airline; #33 miscellaneous products; #34 miscellaneous services; and #35 communications, Internet)

APPENDIX J

FINAL RE-CATEGORIZATION OF PRODUCTS AND SERVICES

Expensive: large purchase, department stores, malls,
specialty stores, luxuries

Moderate: clothing, household miscellaneous, small
appliance, toys, children's videos, educational
items, miscellaneous

Inexpensive: discount stores, restaurant, carry-out,
grocery store food, fast food, personal care,
nutrition, health

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